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THE CHURCH IN MADRAS

ST. MARY'S, FORT ST. GEORGE.

THE CHURCH IN MADRAS

BEING

THE HISTORY OF THE
ECCLESIASTICAL AND MISSIONARY ACTION
OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

IN THE PRESIDENCY OF MADRAS

IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

BY THE

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LATE CHAPLAIN IN H.M. INDIAN SERVICE (MADRAS ESTABLISHMENT)

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

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Part II 672

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TO THE MEMORY OF

THE HONOURABLE EAST INDIA COMPANY

THIS RECORD OF

THEIR ECCLESIASTICAL POLICY AND ACTION

IS MOST RESPECTFULLY

DEDICATED

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PREFACE

This record has been drawn up under certain limitations. It is not intended to be a religious history of the period and the place with which it deals; nor a complete history of missionary effort in the south of India in the 17th and 18th centuries. It is a record of ecclesiastical events as they affected or were affected by the East India Company and its local Government at Fort St. George.

The Directors of the Company were men of high standing in the city of London, Christian gentlemen jealous of their honour as merchants of so great a city, and careful of their 'merchantly carriage.' Their actions both at home and abroad accorded with their high character. This record, which consists principally of extracts from their despatches to the Government of Fort St. George and extracts from the letters in reply, is intended to exhibit the Directors and their ecclesiastical actions exactly as they were.

The writer hopes also that the record will serve to remind the present generation how much Missionaries in the south of India are indebted to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and the German agents they employed for the pioneer work they did in the 18th century. The German agents were well educated men, mostly graduates of Halle; they compiled Tamil grammars and dictionaries; they made translations of all the books and tracts that were necessary for their purposes into Tamil, Portuguese and Persian. All

subsequent Missionaries in the south have profited from the literary labours of these faithful men.

The whole official ecclesiastical record of the Company and the Government of Fort St. George is a record of welcome to the Missionaries and kindly help. There was no hostility, no intolerance of missionary effort, no dark period of discouragement, no attempt to keep Missionaries out of the country. Statements to the contrary must be read in the light of the Company's own records which are their complete refutation.

The chapters on the Governmental dealings with the Roman Catholic missions and those of the English Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge show the even-handed justice meted out to both by the Company, so long as its own supreme authority was recognised. And the reader cannot fail to observe the kindliness of the assistance given by the Company's servants, civil and military, in all good Christian causes in the centuries under review.

The writer begs to thank especially the Lord Bishop of Madras, the Venerable Archdeacon H. B. Hyde of Madras, and Mr. W. Foster of the India Office, for kind assistance freely and sympathetically given; also the Revs. W. H. Blake of Tanjore; L. E. Cox, Cathedral Chaplain, Madras; B. M. Morton, Chaplain of Secunderabad; J. A. Sharrock of Trichinopoly, and Col. Routh, for photographs of Churches etc.; and Mr. Arthur J. Weightman for a photograph of the pulpit of Great St. Helen's, Bishopsgate.

F. P.

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THE

CHURCH IN MADRAS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY, 1609–1640

THE ecclesiastical history, like the political and commercial history of the East India Company, resolves itself into definite periods, each period showing an advance in stability and prosperity. The first period must be reckoned from 1601 to 1640, during which the Company owned no land in the East. The original charter granted by Queen Elizabeth was a charter to form a Company and to provide for its orderly government, with a view to its object being carried out in a lawful manner. The chartered Company consisted of a few London merchants desirous of putting their capital into a common stock, and trading with it beyond the limits of the kingdom. The charter enabled them to sail their ships under a British flag, and to have all the privileges of protection which are part and parcel of that honour. It enabled them to carry out the purposes of their association, and to compete with the merchants of foreign nations on equal terms.

The Company were under no obligation to appoint Chaplains; but the London merchants were a God-fearing set of men then as now; and one cannot read the records without seeing how great a value they placed upon the observance of religious duty both amongst themselves and amongst those they employed. There is no record of any

appointment of a Chaplain before 1607; but in the commission to their General,—the term they used for the chief person of their expeditions, who had supreme authority over all other persons, both merchants and seamen,—there is in the first seven voyages this paragraph[1]:—

'Item and for that religious government doth best bind men to perform their duties, it is principally to be cared for that prayers be said every morning and evening in every ship, and the whole company called thereunto with diligent eyes, that none be wanting; so as all may jointly with reverence and humility pray unto Almighty God, to bless and preserve them from all dangers in this long and tedious voyage; for the better performance whereof we have delivered to each of the pursers a Bible, wherein is contained the book of Common Prayer.'

In the Calendar of State Papers relating to the East Indies there are many early references to charitable grants made by the Company to ministers and poor preachers in England. In 1607 it was decided to employ some of these poverty stricken priests to go the voyage to India with their ships. After that date continual references are found to the trials, appointments, and allowances of preachers. The trial was by means of a sermon on a text of scripture chosen by the Company at one of their Court meetings, and preached before the Company at their parish Church.

The Company's first office and warehouse was at Sir Thomas Smyth's house, in the parish of St. Benet Gracechurch; here they remained from 1600 to 1621. They then moved to larger quarters which they found at Crosby Hall in the parish of Great St. Helen's, Bishopsgate; here they remained till 1638. The necessity of still larger quarters obliged them to move again in that year; and they hired Sir Christopher Clitheroe's house in the parish of St. Andrew Undershaft; here they remained for ten years. In 1648 they moved to the adjoining house which was the property of Lord Craven and in the same parish; here they remained—though not in the same house all the time,—till 1858. The trial sermons were therefore preached in St. Benet Gracechurch

[1] *First Letter Book of the E.I. Co.*, 1619, edited by Birdwood & Foster.

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until 1621, and in Great St. Helen's from that date until 1638; and if any were preached after 1638, which is doubtful, they were preached in the Church of St. Andrew Undershaft. The first church no longer stands; the second and third were spared by the great fire of 1666; the pulpit of the second is dated 1633, and is the identical one in which several trial sermons were preached; the pulpit of the third is of a more modern date.

Beside this trial, enquiries were made of the private and public character of the candidates. The early Chaplains do not appear to have been licensed either by the Bishop of London or by the Archbishop of Canterbury. They had their letters of Orders and their general licence as preachers. With these they seem to have been at liberty to offer their services to the East India Company; and if the Company were satisfied with their characters, their scholarship and their ability, they appear to have been at liberty to employ them in their ships.

This system was wrong in principle and therefore bad in practice. There were some among the early Chaplains who were all that the Company could desire; but there were also some who ought not to have been employed.

The earliest English voyages were made to the west coast of India and to the Persian Gulf. The Company had a factory house at Suratt, and commercial agents at Ispahan and Ajmere. These, therefore, were the places which were visited by the first Chaplains.

In 1607 Henry Levett, Chaplain to Lord Pembroke, was offered £50 to go the voyage with £15 gratuity for the expenses of the journey. He was of Clare College Cambridge, B.A. 1599, M.A. 1603. Enquiries were made of his character, and he preached his trial sermon at St. Benet Gracechurch.

In 1609 Esdras Simpson was employed to go the voyage for £33 6s. 8d. yearly—that is, £100 for the three years, and a gratuity of £20 for provisions at sea. He was the son of Thomas Simpson, vicar of Kelvedon in Essex. His father resigned in 1604, and Esdras was instituted Vicar, the patron being the Bishop of London. In 1609 Esdras was for some reason deprived of his preferment; but was accepted by the Company.

The Minute Books of the Court of Directors do not show that any appointment was made between 1609 and 1614. In that year five appointments were made, a number which seems to show that trade was increasing, and that a greater number of ships was being made use of to carry it on. These were the five :—

1. Master Rogers, a preacher at Deptford, 'esteemed an honest man and a good teacher but no scholar' ; to have an allowance of £50 yearly.

2. Master Evans, the preacher, to have an allowance of £50 yearly.

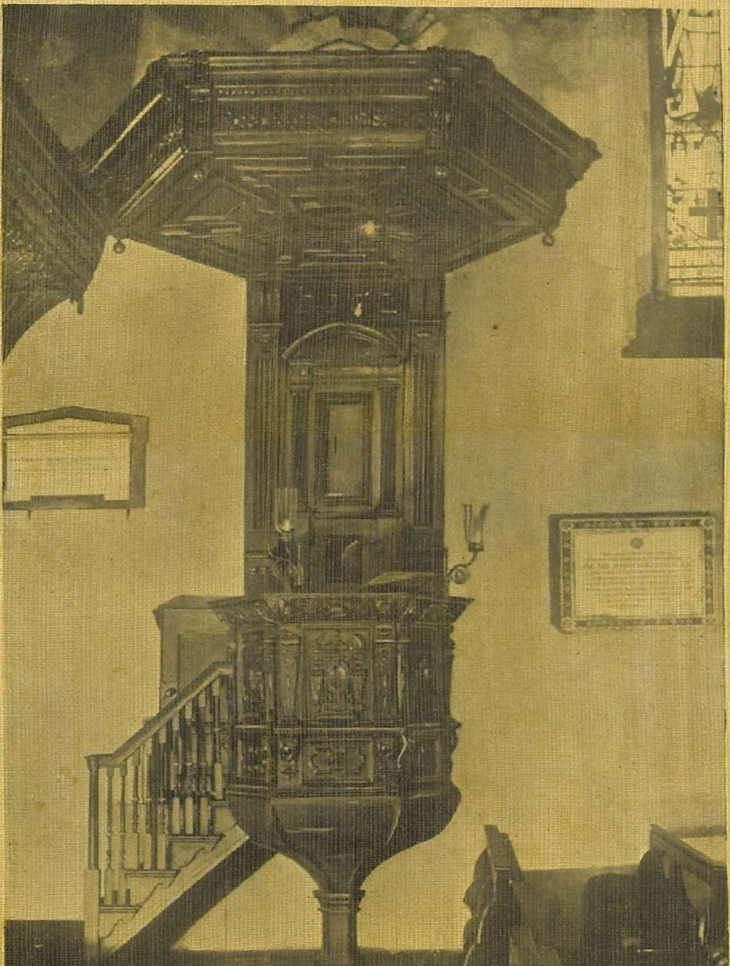
3. Master James Cunningham, a preacher recommended by Mr. Offley ; to have £100 yearly for three years if the good reports of him are confirmed by Mr. Newton, the late Prince's tutor. Cunningham or Coningham was described as a Master of Arts, but his University was not stated. On his return home in 1616 he was instituted to the rectories of St. Martin and Holy Trinity, Colchester. In 1628 he became Rector of Mose, Essex, where he died in 1630.[1]

4. Master William Leske, the preacher, to be entertained at £100 yearly and £30 'to set him forth to sea, the Company being well satisfied of his learning and gravity, and being able to contest with and hold argument with the Jesuits, who are busy at Suratt.'

5. Master John Hall, who went as a Chaplain with Sir Thomas Roe and landed at Suratt with him in 1615. He was a native of Southampton; he graduated B.A. from Magdalene College Oxford in 1600, M.A. from Corpus Christi College (of which he was a Fellow) in 1604, and B.D. in 1613.

The Chaplains of the period were paid according to their qualifications ; the five appointed in 1614 were all paid more than their predecessors. There was no fixed income and allowance before 1660. Of these five the first three appear to have gone the voyage and returned without leaving any record. William Leske went to Suratt and stayed there till 1617. Whilst there Sir Thomas Roe wrote to him a kindly appreciative letter from Ajmere dated the 27th April 1616, which

[1] *Repert. Eccl. Lond.*



THE PULPIT OF GREAT ST. HELEN'S, BISHOPSGATE, LONDON.

is reproduced in facsimile by Mr. William Foster in his book 'The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe.' But Leske was relieved of his duties by the Agent and Council at Suratt and sent home in 1617; they wrote of him to their masters in London that he was a 'licentious ungodly liver' etc. John Hall only lived one year in the East; he died at Ajmere in November 1616, aged thirty-seven. Sir Thomas Roe wrote of him that he was 'a man of most gentle and mild nature, religious and of unspotted life.'

In 1615 the Company appointed Edward Terry for the period of a voyage: a voyage generally meant three, but sometimes four years; it included the time of the journey out and home, and the time that a vessel could cruise about from port to port in the tropics trading, without having to return to England to refit. Edward Terry arrived at Suratt in 1616. He was born at Leigh near Penshurst in Kent, and was educated at Rochester Grammar School and Christ Church, Oxford. He graduated B.A. in 1611, M.A. in 1614, and was elected to a Fellowship at Corpus Christi College[1] like his predecessor John Hall. On the death of Hall Sir Thomas Roe wrote to the factors at Suratt for another Chaplain; and Terry was sent up on the arrival of the ships. Sir Thomas Roe said in his letter, 'Here I cannot live the life of an atheist; let me desire you to endeavour my supply; for I will not abide in this place destitute of the comfort of God's word and heavenly sacraments.'

Edward Terry returned to England in 1619. Ten years later he became Rector of Greenford Magna in Middlesex. He was 'an ingenious and polite man, of a pious and exemplary conversation, a good preacher, and much respected by the neighbourhood where he lived'; he 'submitted to the men that bore sway in the time of the Rebellion,' so that he retained his rectory until his death in 1660.[2] Calamy says that during the Presbyterian usurpation he was a member of the Assembly of Divines; that he was a master of all the ancient learning of the Greek and Latin fathers; and that he

[1] Calamy, in his Abridgement of Baxter, says University College.

[2] Wood's *Athenæ*, vol. iii.

was selected to preach the funeral sermon at Oxford on the death of Dr. Joshua Hoyle, the Regius Professor of Divinity.

He preached moderation to the ruling powers. One of his sermons, entitled Lawless Liberty, was delivered before the Lord Mayor and Corporation in 1646, and was by them ordered to be printed. It echoed the sentiments of the London merchants, who had everything to lose and nothing to gain by political disturbances in the kingdom.

More than once Edward Terry preached before the Court of Directors of the Company at Great St. Helen's. And when the Company moved their office into Leadenhall Street Master Terry preached before them more than once at St. Andrew Undershaft. The sermon preached by him in 1649 was published.[1] In this, as in other sermons, he warned the Company to consult their own best interest by sending out Chaplains in their ships; and not to leave their servants at their factories without the restraining influence of a good minister. In the Company's Court Minutes of 1619 there is a reference to a letter on this subject from Terry to the Court, which is described as 'comfortably and divinely written.' The expression is a testimony not only of the esteem in which the minister was held by the Court, but also of the coincidence of their opinion with his.

In 1615 the Company decided to establish a factory at one of the Dutch settlements in Sumatra. It was to be manned from the factory of Suratt. A staff of merchants was accordingly chosen there by David Midleton, the Company's General, and he issued a commission to them giving them authority to act on behalf of the Company. Having reminded them that his own authority was derived from the King's Majesty, he continued his charge as follows[2]:—

'First above all men living under the sun, we that be travellers by sea be much bound unto Almighty God, who see

[1] An epitome of it will be found in Anderson's *History of the Colonial Church*.

Dr. Josias Shute, 'that worthy man,' preached the annual sermon at Great St. Helen's in 1632, 1633 and 1634. He also preached the Thanksgiving sermon on the safe return of the ships in 1640 before the Court at St. Andrew Undershaft (*Court Minutes*, 7 February, 1639–40). In 1633 the Directors gave 100*l*. at his request to the Repair Fund of Great St. Helen's.

[2] *Letters received by the E.I. Co.* vol. iii. edited by W. Foster.

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His wonders in the deep, and in a moment is able to turn the vessels wherein we live upon our heads, and call us to account for our forepassed life, if in His mercy He did not look favourably upon us. Therefore it behoves you principally to have respect that prayers be read morning and evening both ashore and aboard, and that none be wanting unless sickness be occasion, that you may jointly pray to the Almighty for a blessing upon you and upon your proceedings.'

The Sumatra staff were setting out on their venture without a Chaplain; the General, who had himself been charged on his appointment to observe his religious duties, and to see that his subordinates observed theirs, passed on this part of his charge to them; and it is easy to see that he did so in the spirit of the original charge, in the full conviction that he was urging the performance of what was best for the men he was sending forth. It would have been easy enough to have omitted this part of the charge if the Agent General had so willed. That he did not do so is sufficient proof of his religious intention.

The Chaplains appointed during the first period of the Company's history were not all of them such men as they and their servants abroad desired; but some of them were, and were quite remarkable men in their way. The following were appointed between 1615 and 1621:—

1617.	James Rynd.	1619.	Matthew Cardrowe.
—	Thomas Fryday.	—	Patrick Copland.
—	Henry Golding.	—	Robert Gould.
1618.	Arthur Hatch.	—	Samuel Crooke.

James Rynd stayed eight years in the East and died on the voyage home in 1626. Most of his service was spent in Batavia. The factors there wrote thus to the Company on his departure:—'Lastly Mr. Rynde, our preacher, is the conclusive passenger of note, who hath lovingly this last Sabbath included us in his hearty prayers. He hath lived among us peacefully without any touch of spleen or faction. His function he hath ever observed conformably, and his life no way deserving public reproach, though not free from imbecilities, as in all of us might be wished a bettering.' Like

some others of the early Chaplains James Rynd left his wife at home, and made her an allowance of half his pay through the Company. Andrew Rynde his brother, a preacher in Scotland, was the executor of his will.

Thomas Friday graduated B.A. from Emmanuel College Cambridge in 1607, and took his M.A. degree in 1611. He was entertained by the Company in 1617 and returned from the East in 1623. He was re-entertained in 1624 and died at Suratt in 1630. When he was reappointed in 1624 he was referred to in the Court Minutes of the Company as one 'who came home with good reputation, only some small touch of private trade'; this however he promised to forbear and to hinder in others. He wrote a letter to the Company in 1626,[1] which is a record of the jealousy between the nations that were contending for the commerce of the East at that time,[2] and of the extreme measures they adopted towards one another in the Eastern seas in consequence of that jealousy.

Henry Golding belonged to a family which had considerable landed property in the county of Essex. He was the private Chaplain of a nobleman, and was by him recommended to the Company. It is recorded of him that during the voyage out to Suratt he collected £200 for Wapping Church. The merchants and factors of Suratt had some cause to be jealous of Golding. In their general letter home in 1618 they referred to him scornfully as 'the gentlewomen's Chaplain'; and they added gratuitously, 'so long as the Company choose preachers recommended by noblemen's letters, how can they expect to be better served?' In 1633 Henry Golding was instituted to the vicarage of Mark's Tey in Essex.[3]

Arthur Hatch was a native of Devon. He matriculated at Exeter College Oxford in 1611, at the age of 18. He went three voyages. He was first entertained in 1618, after preaching his trial sermon at Great St. Helen's and being approved as a good scholar and gifted preacher. He returned in 1623; he was re-entertained in 1626, and returned in May 1629. The date of his third appointment cannot be found;

[1] *Calendar of State Papers (East Indies).*
[2] Portuguese, Dutch, and English.
[3] *Repert. Eccl. Lond.*

but he was certainly abroad in 1634.[1] His first voyage was to Japan. On his return he wrote by request his impressions of that country and its inhabitants,[2] dating the letter from Wingham in Kent.

Matthew Cardrowe was a native of Dorset. He matriculated at Trinity College Oxford in 1605, at the age of 17. He went to Ispahan, and returned in 1621. In 1620 he was rebuked by the factors at Ispahan for dice playing; and when they wrote home to the Company in 1621 they referred to him as their 'carnal minister,' who with their 'critical agent Monox' and their 'infernal physician Strachan' formed a 'triple conspiracy against merchantly carriage' and good manners.

Patrick Copeland is not mentioned in the Calendar of State Papers (East Indies) before 1619; but there is evidence from other sources that he was employed by the Company as early as 1612, that he went a second voyage in 1617, and a third voyage in 1619. He was deeply imbued with the missionary spirit; for this reason his life and work have been minutely traced and recorded.[3] He was both trusted and esteemed by the Company, and was referred to in the Court Minutes as 'that worthy preacher,' and as 'a sober, discreet man.'[4] On his return home in 1623 he was consulted by the Company with reference to the appointment of another Chaplain; so that he enjoyed the same kind of confidence as Edward Terry. Whilst in the service of the Company he took a very decided line with reference to the alliance with the Dutch. He expostulated with the Dutch for their unfriendliness abroad, and for their jealousy of the English merchants; he reminded them of the assistance given to them by the English against the Spaniards at home; and he added, 'but now you are free from the Spaniard at home, you fall out with your friends abroad.' He also blamed the English commanders for quarrelling with the Dutch. He preached a sermon on board one of the Company's ships

[1] *Calendar of State Papers (East Indies)*.

[2] Purchas' *Pilgrimages*, vol. ii. 1696.

[3] See Hough's *Christianity in India*; Memoir by E. D. Neill; *Fasti Acad. Marisc.* (Aberdeen), i. 159; *Scottish Notes and Queries*, v. 1 and x. 4.

[4] *Calendar of State Papers (East Indies)*.

which caused the commanders to complain that the effect of his preaching was to take the heart out of the mariners. This charge was examined by the Court, and Copeland was questioned about it. His attempt to put a stop to the quarrellings and jealousies between the Dutch and English was doubtless good in itself; but the effort was unpopular; the memory of Amboyna[1] rankled in the minds of all Englishmen; the Directors acknowledged the excellence of his intentions, his personal worthiness and goodness; but they did not offer him another appointment.

Robert Gould went to Suratt in 1619.

Samuel Crooke went to Batavia the same year. He was the son of Dr. Thomas Crooke, Fellow of Trinity College Cambridge, and Rector of Great Waldingfield, Suffolk. He was born at his father's rectory in January 1574–5; educated at Merchant Taylors' School and Pembroke College Cambridge; and was elected to a Fellowship at Emmanuel College. He was ordained in 1602 and became soon afterwards Rector of Wrington, Somerset. At Cambridge he was distinguished in Classics and Oriental studies. He probably accepted a Chaplaincy in the Company's service in order to pursue his favourite study of Oriental languages and literature. He submitted to the Parliamentarian test in 1643, and so remained at Wrington till his death, which took place in 1649. Both he and his father were eminent Puritans.

John Woolhouse offered his services in 1619; he was specially recommended by Dr. Hill and Dr. Meryall, two University professors; he preached his trial sermon at Great St. Helen's before the Court of Directors, was accepted, and went out with the fleet in 1620. From the East he returned in 1627. He was one of the early Chaplains who engaged in trade. If he had been content to join with the merchants abroad in the coast trade only nothing would have been said; but he brought home his small fortune in goods and applied to the Court for a mitigation of the freight. Terry had done the same thing, and the Court had granted his request. But it was evident that the setting aside of the rule prohibiting private importations in one case was leading to other applica-

[1] See Valentyn's *History*.

tions and would lead to others also. The Directors therefore refused his application, charged him the full freight, and delivered him his bond by which he had pledged himself not to do what he had done. In 1633 Woolhouse applied for re-appointment, and was recommended by Viscount Falkland; but as there were other applicants, well recommended, his application was rejected. Soon afterwards he was instituted to the Vicarage of West Mersey in Essex, where he remained till he was ejected by the rebels in 1643.

In these early days the patience of the Company was greatly tried by reports of the immoral conduct of their servants abroad. When the subject of the appointment of Chaplains came before them in 1624 they put on record that 'the debauched carriage of divers abroad had almost discouraged them from sending any.' They knew nothing except by report. All through the century there were jealousies between the Company's Chiefs ashore and the Company's Commanders afloat; each thought the other had greater trade advantages than himself; and each reported against the other. The Directors, however, recovered their equanimity, and went on making appointments; in this decision they were probably influenced by their former Chaplains Terry and Copeland.

The Rector of Great St. Helen's in 1618 was the Rev. Dr. Wood. The Company in their corporate capacity were his parishioners, so that he was naturally attracted to the consideration of their concerns. They had no Chaplain then at Poplar; so he commenced a system of preaching on board their ships before they started on their long voyages. He also compiled a small book of devotion for sailors and travellers in their service; and received the thanks of the Court and a present of 20 Jacobas towards the expense of printing it.

The following Chaplains were appointed between 1620 and 1635:—

1623. Edward Young.
1624. Mr. Lord.
— Mr. Wren.
1626. Lewis Williams.
1628. Thomas Fuller.
1630. George Collins.
1633. Theodore Holditch.
— William Crossthwaite.

Edward Young was of Queen's College Cambridge, B.A. 1619, M.A. 1623. Messieurs Lord and Wren cannot be identified; but from a study of the University and ecclesiastical lists of the time there can be little doubt that Wren belonged to the family which in the next generation produced the great architect. The trial sermons of these three were all preached at Great St. Helen's.

Lewis Williams was also of Queen's College Cambridge, from which college he graduated B.A. in 1603 and M.A. in 1607. After preaching his trial sermon he was given his appointment by the Company, but with some hesitation; for in spite of his preaching power there was a feeling in the Board room that he was not the right person to appoint. He stated that he was unmarried, but six months after his departure application was made on behalf of his wife by Mr. William Pritchard, vicar of Battersea, for half his wages. The Company gave her some assistance, but resolved that Williams should be recalled if found in any way insufficient. In their next letter to Suratt they expressed their wish to the factors, with the result that Williams was sent home in October 1627.

Thomas Fuller was not 'the worthy' who was born in 1608; but another Thomas who took his B.A. degree from Pembroke College Cambridge in 1612. He went to Swally, a small factory subordinate to Suratt, on the Bombay coast. The Chief of the factory informed the Company that he 'supplied his room with the good will of all men,' and added 'we would have kept Mr. Fuller the Minister . . . but he was not very willing to stay; we are bold to intreat in his behalf if he is willing to come back; his doctrine and life being so exemplary as we doubt of his like.' In another letter of the same year they say, 'Mr. Fuller, our Minister, has at last been persuaded to stay; we doubt not a man of his quality and demeanour will draw a blessing upon their labours surpassing the Company's charge by his detention.' Fuller returned home in 1632. Like some of the other Chaplains he was a married man, and his wife drew a portion of his pay from the Company during his absence.

George Collins remained four years in Ispahan and returned home in 1634. Like some of his predecessors he

was not physically able to bear life in the tropics. This is what the Agent wrote of him: 'This country travels have quite disheartened him from any longer residence, therefore is departed, we suppose, to seek a place of more ease; not that we do not desire the conversation of an upright man that might guide us in the true way, but do not much sorrow for his miss; we have more ado to accommodate these ministers to their desires than most of the factory besides, they are so troublesome. The two that have been here in Gibson's time were the tenderest chickens we ever met; and unless hereafter they are hardier, to be plain, we had rather have their room than their company.'

In 1633 there were four applications for two appointments; one Chaplain was to be sent 'for northwards and one for southwards.' Theodore Holditch was of St. John's College, Cambridge; he graduated B.A. in 1623 and M.A. in 1627. William Crossthwaite was of Trinity College Cambridge; he graduated B.A. in 1612.

The candidates preached their trial sermons as usual and these two were chosen. Both were recommended by Directors. It was at this period that recommendations of members of the Board began to be preferred to others. Later on the system became stereotyped into one of patronage, which was generally exercised by members of the Board in rotation.

In 1634 there were three candidates[1] for two appointments, 'one for northwards and one for southwards.' They preached their trial sermons as usual, but there is no record that any one of them was appointed.

With regard to the Chaplain 'for southwards' the trade with the further east was growing year by year, so that the number of ships sent southwards was yearly increasing. The first factory the Company had upon the Coromandel coast was at Masulipatam; ships to the further east called there on their way out and home. The first Company's ship to touch at that port was the Globe in 1610. It landed three representative merchants. Two years later a factory was established at Bantam. From that date the Company's ships went as regularly to the south as to the north; some carrying

[1] Reyner, Sugden, and Westfield.

Chaplains and some not. As far as can be gathered from the records the first Chaplains to visit Masulipatam—the name was then written Metchlepatam,—were James Rynd, Thomas Fryday and Patrick Copeland. Their stay at the port was no longer than the stay of the ships, whose destination was the more important factories eastward. Still Masulipatam has the honour to be the site of the first English factory on the Coromandel coast, and to have the earliest connection with the ministers of British Christianity.

It is pleasing to notice that at this early period the London merchants who formed the East India Company were interested in the evangelisation of the heathen. The following are extracts from the Court Minutes:—

'19 August 1614. Captain Best having brought home a young youth, an Indian, whoe was taught by Mr. Copland the Preacher to wright and reade, and is very apt to learne, The Company therefore resolved to have him kept here to schoole to bee taught and enstructed in religion that hereafter being well grounded he might upon occasion bee sent unto his countrye where God may be soe pleased to make him an instrument in converting some of his nation, And resolved to have 20 markes per annum allowed for that purpose, and that if Mr. Copland the Preacher should undertake another voyage that then this youth should be permitted to go and attend him.'

It is evident from this letter that Copeland returned from a voyage in 1614 with Captain Best and the native boy. The boy remained in his charge and care and tutorship until the following July when he wrote to the Governor of the Company, Sir Thomas Smyth, about him. This is the entry in the Court Minute Book:—

'18 July 1615. A letter was red wrytten by Mr. Patrick Copland to Mr. Governor bearinge date the 6th of this instant, giveing to understand howe much the Indian youth (recommended to his care) had profited in the knowledge of Christian religion, soe that hee is able to render an account of his faith, And therefore desired to receive directions from Mr. Governor concerning the baptizinge of him, beinge of opinion that it were fitt to have it publicly effected, being the first

fruits of India, etc. This Court beinge desirous to understand the opinion of my Lord's grace of Canterburie before they would resolve anything in soe waightie a buysines, entreated Mr. Deputy[1] to speak with his grace and know his pleasure therein. And for the other parte of Mr. Copland's letters desiringe to have the years's allowance for the youth to be paid uinto Mr. Daniel Wight. They ordered to have it delivered accordingly.'

The Archbishop was consulted, and approved of the proposal. On the 22 December 1616 the young man was christened at St. Dionis Backchurch, Fenchurch Street; the occasion was recognised to be one of unique importance. There were present some members of the Privy Council, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, the members of the East India Company and of the sister Company of Virginia[2]; the Church was packed and there was an immense crowd outside. Dr. John Wood of Great St. Helen's officiated. The name given in baptism was chosen by the King. The young man gave a public confession of his faith in answer to questions showing that he understood what he was doing. The record of the interesting event was entered in the parish register thus[3]:—

'1616 Dec. 22. An East Indian was Christened by the name of Peter.'

A few weeks afterwards Copeland and the youth departed on another voyage; it was on this voyage in the Royal James that Copeland collected money for the building of a school and the prosecution of a mission in Virginia. He returned in 1621; in 1622 he preached a memorable sermon at St. Mary le Bow Church, Cheapside, before the Hon. Virginia Company; by this means he raised more money for his Virginia mission. The sermon was published with this title, 'Virginia's God be thanked,' and may be consulted at the British Museum. In the sermon he referred to the boy Peter; and at the end of the sermon are printed three

[1] Mr. Morris Abbott, brother of the Archbishop.
[2] *Memoir of the Rev. Patrick Copland*, by E. D. Neill.
[3] *Harleian Society's Registers*, vol. iii.

letters in creditable Latin from the boy himself, one to the Governor of the East India Company, and two to the Commander of the vessel he sailed in. In these letters he signs his name in Latin, Petrus Papa, and in the English translation Peter Pope; which shows that during the last voyage he acquired a second name of the nature of a surname. There is nothing to show how he got it. In the margin of the sermon at the place where the boy is referred to without name is this printed note 'Peter Pope, so named by His Majesty'; but his Christian name according to the register was Peter only.

It is not possible to determine exactly what place in India the boy came from; he is said to have been born in the Bay of Bengala. At all events he was taught by one of the Company's Chaplains at the Company's expense, and was baptized in the City of London under their auspices, in the presence of a famous assembly brought together by their influence. It was the first of a long series of evangelistic efforts made by the Hon. Company.

CHAPTER II

THE FIRST TWENTY YEARS OF FORT ST. GEORGE, 1640–1660

In the year 1639 the principal factory on the Coromandel coast was at Masulipatam. It had been since its establishment subordinate to the President and Council of Bantam. The Agent was Mr. Andrew Cogan; and the Council which assisted him in the administration of the Company's affairs included Francis Day, Thomas Peniston, Thomas Morris, Thomas Winter, and Thomas Ivie. These were not all resident at Masulipatam; some of them were at the head of smaller factories either on the coast or inland.

Up to this time the policy of the Company had been to keep aloof from the acquisition of property in the East. In their eyes property meant disputes and complications with native rulers and other owners. Their highest ambition was to carry goods safely to the East, dispose of them profitably, and bring back Eastern products to the port of London. The policy of the Dutch East India Company had been to acquire sites, erect defensive forts, and to found secure settlements, where they and their goods could be safe from hostile attack.

The English merchants commenced operations as the friends and allies of the Dutch; depending upon them entirely for ports and harbours, and largely for supplies and markets. After an experience of nearly 40 years the Company's agents in the East had come to the conclusion that the Dutch policy was a better one than their own. Their masters in London, however, took no steps in the direction of their best interests. And so the Factors, who were in the uncomfortable position of being dependent upon the Dutch for all they had and for all they did, practically took the matter into their

own hands, and looked around for a place where they could establish themselves in a territory and fort of their own.

The story of the granting of the Firman to Francis Day on behalf of the Honourable Company 'for tradeing and fortifieing at Medraspatam'—of the reason of his choosing this particular place—and of the building of the Fort have already been told.[1] But a few words regarding the shape and size of the Fort at this period, thirty years before Fryer[2] saw it, will be of interest. Fryer describes the Fort fairly accurately, but gives a map which is misleading because not drawn to scale. When looking at Fryer's map it has to be remembered that (as he says) the inner Fort measured 108 by 100 yards, the longer length being parallel to the sea shore. This inner Fort was inclosed by four boundary walls, having bastions at each corner. The eastern and western boundaries of the outer fort were each about 400 yards long[3]; the northern boundary about 200 yards; and the southern boundary about 150 yards. The enclosure formed an irregular quadrilateral, and measured about 14 acres. Between the walls of the inner Fort and the walls of the outer Fort was the space which was given up for the building of houses. The Portuguese, who were attracted from St. Thoma, were settled in the northern part of this space; here they built their chapel, and had a small burial-ground. The Governor, the Chaplain and some of the unmarried factors lived within the inner Fort. Some of the English Factors and free merchants lived in houses on the west side of the larger enclosure, whose gardens extended to the western boundary. Others lived in streets to the south of the inner Fort.

The inner Fort was completed first; the outer walls were built by degrees. There was no wall on the sea face until 1652, when war broke out with the Dutch.[4] There were two gates on the north side, as shown by Fryer; and a sea gate on the east side, which Fryer does not show. The inner Fort had two entrances, one on the east and one on the west: the

[1] *The Founding of Fort St. George*, by William Foster. *The History of Fort St. George*, by Mrs. F. Penny.

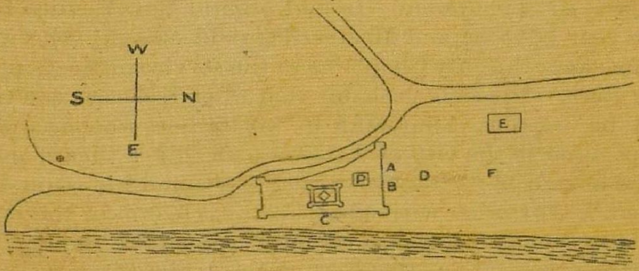
[2] Fryer's *Account of East India*, written about 1673.

[3] Hamilton's Account in Moore's *Voyages and Travels*, vol. ii. 673.

[4] Bruce's *Annals*.

latter was the principal entrance; it had a guard room on each side of it. The native town of Madraspatam was separated by a wide parade from the northern wall of the Fort. The Directors were not at first pleased with Cogan and Day, who had most to do with the inauguration of the new policy; but they were soon convinced of its rightness; and they gave orders from time to time to strengthen the Fort and render it secure. It was strengthened in 1652 by President Aaron Baker; it was strengthened again by Sir Edward Winter in 1663, and by Sir William Langhorne in 1675.

FORT ST. GEORGE, 1655.



A. The Choultry Gate.
B. The Middle Gate.
C. The Sea Gate.
D. The open space.
F. The Black Town.
E. The Burial Ground.
P. The Capuchin Chapel, Clergy-Quarters, and Burial ground.

Not drawn exactly to scale. *F. P.*

But our present business is with ecclesiastical matters. There is no record of any Chaplain's visit to Fort St. George before 1647; but it is likely enough that a passing visit was paid by one of the ships' Chaplains on the way out to Bantam or on the return journey. The earliest record is that of a desire for a Chaplain by the Factors and soldiers in the Fort in the year 1644. Fort St. George had been made two years before subordinate to Suratt. In a letter from the President and Council at Suratt to their honourable masters in London, dated January[1] 1644-5, there is a list of the various wants

[1] *Factory Records* at the India Office; Original Correspondence (O.C.) No. 1884.

of the Company's servants in the East. The 10th paragraph says: 'A minister is needful at Fort St. George unto which place Mr. Isaacson from Suratt was designed.' In October 1645 the Agent and Council at Fort St. George added this postscript to their ordinary business letter home [1]:—'At the sealing up hereof we were presented with a petition from the soldiers for the desiring of a Minister to be here with them for the maintenance of their soules' health, which petition goeth herewith beseeching your wisdom's devote consideration thereon.'

At the end of 1647 Master Isaacson arrived at Fort St. George [2]; he was the first resident Chaplain of the Company's first possession in India. He had been at Suratt since 1644.[3] In the year 1645 he and Master Reginald Swayle, who was at Bantam, were the only Chaplains in the service of the Company in the East. It seems probable that when Isaacson was transferred he wrote a complaint to his father, who occupied a high position in the city of London; for his father requested that he should be re-transferred to Suratt, and his request was granted.[4] The order arrived at Fort St. George in the middle of 1648; but he did not at once return to Suratt. The Company's servants at the Fort desired him to stay; and as the coast was not such an unpleasant place as he anticipated, he remained apparently till the end of the year. The Agent and Council wrote this excuse for keeping him in September 1648 [5]:—

'We cannot but humbly express our sorrow for your worship's order in your letter to the President and Council in Bantam touching the return of our Minister Mr. Isaacson to Suratt, not having been pleased to supply his room with another; since even the very opinion of that President and Council, as of all others, that such a civil and well governed man is as much, if not more, necessary and importing the religion order and reputation of this place where you have

[1] O.C. No. 1953.
[2] O.C. No. 2046 gives a list of the residents at Fort St. George in October 1647; there was no Chaplain there then.
[3] O.C. No. 1910.
[4] *Court Minute Book*, 26 Nov. 1647.
[5] O.C. No. 2085.

so many servants and other Christians living under your command, and wanting instructions as any other your Factories in India whatsoever; and we doubt not of prevailing with your said President and Council to admit of his continuance here before we shall have any ship to transport him thither; therefore we beseech your worships to approve of his stay here until you please to send out such another (although none for comportment and language can fit this place better than Mr. Isaacson) and not to be offended at this our reasonable request which is so considerably necessary for the good of your servants, and repute of your town, whose inhabitants as well as our neighbours are apt to observe how much your worships seem to slight this place in so small a matter.'

This letter was signed by Henry Greenhill the Agent, William Gurney and Martin Bradgate, members of Council. William Isaacson returned to Suratt in 1648 and was there in 1649[1] and 1650.[2] His successor at the Fort was Robert Winchester. The following letter explains the circumstances of his appointment. It is a letter from the Agent and Council of Fort St. George to the Company, dated 18 January 1650–1[3]:—

'As we remanded Mr. Isaacson according to order for Suratt, so hath the President and Council since taken care to see us re-supplied with Mr. Robert Winchester, a Minister that came out in the Squire Courten service with Captain Durson in the Loyalty, from whom having received many discontents, deserted the employment and retired to Suratt; from thence as aforesaid for his preaching ability, civil comportment and temperance recommended to us, which having experienced now almost three-fourths of a year so agreeable to report, we are not only thankfully contented with him, but do also become humble petitioners to your Worships that you will be pleased to continue him at this place with allowance of the wonted stipend, seeing as yet no agreement hath been made with him either at Suratt or in this place, but wholly refer himself unto your pleasures.'

The date of Mr. Winchester's arrival can be judged from

[1] O.C. Letter dated 7 March 1649–50, from Isaacson to the reverend Mr. Joshua Blackwell of Suratt, welcoming him back to Christianity after his apostasy to Mahommedanism.

[2] *Court Minutes*, vol. 21, fol. 5.

[3] O.C. No. 2238.

this letter to have been about April 1650. He remained at Fort St. George till the end of 1651; the Agent and Council wrote to the Company on the fourteenth of January 1651–2 as follows[1]:—

'Our late Minister, Mr. Robert Winchester, drawn on by the indisposition of his body and Mr. Isaacson's designment hither from Suratt, is licensed to pass home upon the frigate Welcome; he hath not here received any gratification from us, but humbly refers himself to your Worships' bounty, which we shall hope to be in the same proportion with others of his quality shipped out in the service; his civil and godly conversation hath deserved it without addition of his charge here and in coming hither for above two years' time, besides what the owners may require for his passage; though we are confident their noble dispositions will not demand ought from persons of his quality and function.'

The exact date of Robert Winchester's departure can almost be fixed. On the 30 Dec. 1651 an agreement was entered into between Agent Greenhill and the Captain-General of St. Thoma regarding slaves and fugitives. Robert Winchester, Minister, witnessed it.[2] On the 10th January 1651–2 a list of the Company's servants on the coast was sent home[3]; there was no Minister then at any of the Factories.

Winchester was in London in October 1652, as the following extract from the Court Minutes of the 1st Oct. shows:—

'Upon the desire of Mr. Robert Winchester, Minister, lately returned from the coast, for allowance of salary, he having been there almost three years, and during which time he had received nothing for his pains, of whom the Court being very well satisfied concerning his ability and demeanour they were pleased by erection of hands to order he should receive £100 in full of all his said pains, not by way of salary but in compensation of his services aboard several of the Company's ships and on shore at the coast of Choromandell; which being made known unto him he thankfully accepted thereof, and desired that he might spend an hour or two in the pulpit in the audience of the Company; which the Court

[1] O.C. No. 2246. [2] O.C. No. 2238. [3] O.C. No. 2243.

approved of, and resolved to appoint a time for the same when he should give them notice that he was ready for them.'

The Court of Directors appointed Mr. Joseph Thomson to be one of their Chaplains towards the close of the decade 1640–50. He was at Bantam [1] January 1650–1 and in January 1651–2, as appears from the following extract from the Court Minutes [2] :—

'The Court this day, taking into consideration what answer to return to divers particulars of the letter received from the coast of Coromandel, did in the first place direct that if Mr. Baker [3] should carry Mr. Thomson the Minister from Bantam to the Coast, then that Mr. Winchester should be returned into England, and have 100 Ryalls etc.; but if Mr. Thomson should not come with Mr. Baker as aforesaid, or be deceased before the Love come thither (which God forbid) then it was ordered that Mr. Winchester should be detained there as Minister; and the Company promise to gratify him when he comes home.'

In the early part of 1652 Joseph Thomson was still at Bantam.[4] On Whitsunday 1653 he was at Fort St. George. In 1653 one of the Factors, John Leigh, brought a charge against James Martin, Captain of the soldiers, that he was the enemy of God, of the State, and of the Company; he cited Joseph Thomson as a witness, he being present at Fort St. George on Whitsunday 1653, and hearing Martin speak against the Holy Scriptures. The quarrel was of no importance, and would not be mentioned now, but that the charges and counter-charges contain occasional references to Mr. Thomson the Minister, who would take neither side. Martin was a royalist, and Leigh a puritan. Martin was accused of saying (amongst other things) that the Presbyterians had taken away the King and the Bishops, that the Independents had taken away the Presbyterians, and that he hoped the devil would take away the Independents. Henry Greenhill,

[1] O.C. No. 2207.
[2] *Court Minutes*, 1650–9, vol. 23, fol. 52.
[3] The newly appointed President of Fort St. George.
[4] *Court Minutes*, 3rd Sept. 1652, fol. 77.

the Agent at Masulipatam, wrote to the Company a temperate letter,[1] showing that Captain Martin was a 'dangerous, quarrelsome, insulting person, with whom it is not possible to live peaceably.' Martin died at Fort St. George on the 27th June, 1654. Leigh then accused various Factors of cheating, including John Chambers and Yardley who were members of Council. After enquiry he was imprisoned in his chamber for 14 days by President Aaron Baker. It is to be observed that the Factory authorities tried to keep British politics at a distance in the administration of the Company's affairs, and that the Chaplain Joseph Thomson sided with them.

Robert Wynchester must have come out again in the 1653 fleet, for his name is on the list of inhabitants of the Fort in 1654; and as Thomson's name is not on that list, it is probable that he was transferred to Masulipatam, where we next meet him. Isaacson also must have come out with the ships of the following year 1654; for in a letter written to the Agent in August 1660, hereafter printed, he states that he was at the Fort during the Presidentship of Aaron Baker.

Henry Greenhill succeeded Baker as President at the end of the year 1654. Whilst on a tour of inspection in October 1655 a meeting of the Agent and Council was held at Verasheroon—a small Factory subordinate to Masulipatam—and this resolution was passed[2]:—

'It was propounded touching Mr. Thomson and his wife that if they cannot find this year convenient passage for their country, and that if they remain at Fort St. George, they shall have diet at the Company's table; but Mr. Thomson himself is to be referred to the Company's pleasure what salary he shall have for his pains.'

This meant that his covenant time was expired, and that he was at liberty to go home if he wished, but that the authorities would make what provision they could for him if he elected to stay.

On the 4th of December 1655 the Council met at Masulipatam and considered the general subject of allowances at Fort

[1] O.C. No. 2374. [2] O.C. No. 2502.

St. George and the other Factories. This is an extract from the Minutes[1] :—

'Next was had into consideration what portion of means was thought needful to be allowed for such of the Company's servants as are to reside at Madraspatam and Metchlepatam and the subordinate factories for their necessary expenses.'

It was agreed that 30 old pagodas should be allowed to Mr. Francis Winter, Esquire, to uphold the Company's houses at Metchlepatam and three smaller Factories; 'and 60 new Pagodas' for the President and two Factors, the Minister and his wife, and Chirurgeon at Fort St. George.' This is the first reference in the history of the Company to allowances for the upkeep of houses. The minutes are signed by Henry Greenhill, the chief Agent on the Coast, and seven others, namely Christopher Yardley, Edward Winter, William Curtis, John Leigh, Thomas Chamber, Martin Bradgate and John Chambers. This resolution is remarkable because the Factors resolved to make some provision out of their local resources for their Minister, their Surgeon and themselves, without the previous sanction of the Company.

Thomson set out for home in the early part of 1658; and having served 2⅓ years beyond his covenant time at Fort St. George, it was ordered at the Company's meeting[2] in September of that year 'that Mr. Joseph Thomson, Minister, lately returned from the Coast, should be paid the sum of £233 10s. 0d., being the foote of his account.'[3]

William Isaacson, who left Fort St. George and went to Suratt in 1648 and was last heard of at Fort St. George in 1654, returned to the Fort at the end of 1657, and remained as Minister there on the departure of Joseph Thomson. A

[1] O.C. No. 2510.

[2] *Court Minutes*, 7th Sept. 1658, fol. 322.

[3] The historian Kaye (*Administration of the E.I. Co.*, ed. 1853) confounds this Chaplain, whose Christian name was Joseph, with another Chaplain appointed in 1667–8, whose Christian name was William. Kaye also says that the early Chaplains were intended only for the Company's ships; this also is a mistake. And he states (p. 628) that on the establishment of the Fort St. George Factory, the Factors made use of the services of a Capuchin friar, who, when it became known at Goa, paid the penalty of his toleration in accommodating his ministry to the convenience of the settlement, by suffering five years' imprisonment at the hands of the Inquisition. But he does not give any authority for this statement.

document dated 18 January 1657–8[1] gives a list of men's names in Fort St. George at that time. It includes Henry Greenhill, Agent, Thomas Chamber, Accountant, William Isaacson, Minister, two Factors, a Surgeon, a Commandant, two Assistant Factors, a Gunner, a Sergeant, two Corporals, twenty English soldiers, and forty-nine Portuguese and Mistezoes[2] soldiers. An order of precedence seems to be observed in the list.

A petition of this period to the Agent and Council dated June 1658,[3] contains a reference to 'Padre Isaacson'; it shows how early this affectionate style of designation was made use of. Isaacson was zealous in the exercise of his ministry. When the Fort was built the Agents invited some of the Portuguese of St. Thoma, both pure-blooded and half-blooded, to settle in it as traders and as soldiers. They allotted the immigrants plots of land inside the Fort on which they were allowed and encouraged to build houses; and for the soldiers who were employed houses were built at the expense of the Company. This colony of foreigners were all of the Roman Catholic faith. They were allowed and encouraged to bring their families with them; so that, as few of the English Factors and Merchants were married, the wives and daughters of the Portuguese formed the great majority of the women in the Fort. The inevitable result of an arrangement of this kind happened. Some of the Factors and of the English soldiers took the daughters as their wives, and children were born to them. By the time Isaacson arrived at the Fort on his third tour of duty, the question of the baptism of the children of these marriages had arisen. Isaacson took counsel with the Agent and the principal Factors. He found Agent Thomas Chamber unfavourable to his plan of stopping the Roman Catholic ministrations by expelling the French priests from the Fort; but he had the sympathy of the rest of the Factors; and he persuaded them to write a letter to the Directors complaining of the growing

[1] O.C. No. 2643.

[2] 'Mestiços,' persons of mixed Portuguese and native blood. See a valuable note by A. T. Pringle in vol. iii. (1684) of the Fort St. George Consultation Books.

[3] O.C. No. 2654.

influence of the Roman Catholics. The letter was as follows[1]:—

'Rt. Worshipful Sirs,—In your order and instructions given to your several factories here in India, we find that you ever begin (as it is most meet) with the worship of God, to which order we willingly and cheerfully submit (as in conscience we are bound). Yet we cannot but acknowledge that there are several persons who are fallen from our congregations, having been seduced by two French mendicant friars, who by the assistance of the English formerly built them a church, in the heart of your Honours' town, and by the encouragement of the present Agent, dare boldly perform their idolatrous rites and ceremonies to the great scandal of our nation that suffers them.

'1st. First they are allowed at the burial of their dead to move before the corpse with bell, book, candle and cross, to the great discontent of those that know not how to remedy it, living under the arbitrary government of one man, which will not advise with his Council in matters which concern the government of your Honours' town.

attested by me William Isaacson

'2dly. In the second place, if any Christians belonging to our congregation are visited with any sickness, they will be so bold as to intrude into our Minister's office of visiting them; and, like the Devil, endeavour to lay their strongest batteries whilst they are weakest, to seduce them if they can to their idolatrous custom of setting the Images of Saints before them, that they may pray to them; and this they do in the night, for our sick men are forced to lie out of the Fort for want of accommodation.

attested by me William Isaacson

'3dly. They have likewise in the night gone to Englishmen's houses, when they have been upon their duty in the Fort, whose wives are newly delivered, to baptise young infants, pretending them to be very weak, which hath been found false; yet for these things we can have no redress here.

'The humble request therefore of us your subscribers is that your Honours would please to take these things seriously into your considerations, and to free us from those two idolatrous friars; for it is certain so long as they are permitted to reside in this place, whatsoever Minister your Honours shall send out, shall find but little comfort in his labours, and as little respect from him that now reigns in this place.

'We could add much more, but desire not to be too tedious

[1] O.C. No. 2840, with spelling modernised.

to your Honours; we shall only say thus much, if your Honours please to condescend to this our reasonable and conscionable request, it will be necessary to send out your positive commands, like the laws of the Medes and Persians not to be altered or contradicted by any power in this place. We are bold to give this caution by reason that Agent Chamber hath declared publicly that the friars shall not be turned out, so long as he stays in this place.

'We send you this letter by the hands of our Minister, Mr. William Isaacson, who can say more concerning this business, etc.

'Your Honours' most humble servants to command,

'WILLIAM À COURT, 'THOS. SHINGLER,
'WILLIAM DANIELL, 'WM. GYFFORD,
'HENRY THURSCROSS.

'In Fort St. George:
'Jan. 24, 1659–60.'

Evidently William Isaacson intended to have gone home in the early part of 1660, and to have taken the letter with him. But this intention was not carried out. The letter was not communicated to the Agent; but it is not surprising to find that the fact of its having been written came in time to his knowledge. In the early part of August 1660 Agent Chamber demanded of Mr. Isaacson why he had written to the Honourable Company in conjunction with others, and what he had added under his own signature in the letter. In reply, Isaacson wrote the following letter to the Agent, dated the 10th of August [1]:—

'Sir,—Your Worship was pleased a few days since to demand of me the reason of the writing of a letter to the Honourable Company bearing date 24 January 1659–60, which (though it were more proper for the subscribers to give) I have (with as much brevity as I could) in the ensueing lines declared as far as I am concerned therein.

'Your Worship may please to remember that one night about the latter end of last year, after supper, you were pleased to call Mr. Thomas Shingler, Mr. William Gyfford, Mr. Henry Thurscrosse, and myself into your chamber, where, amongst other discourse, some of the French Padres' actions in the matter of their superstitious ceremonies were

[1] O.C. No. 2856.

urged by Mr. Thomas Shingler as inconvenient and scandalous to Englishmen, and that it was more fit they should be turned out of the town than suffered to reign in that power they then did. This, Sir, you may remember was urged very hot by Mr. Shingler, and (I cannot but confess) with a great deal of reason, although my silence at that time gave your Worship occasion to tell Mr. Shingler that I, who stood by and said nothing, had more reason to speak than he had, yet was silent. But the result was that your Worship declared they, viz.: the French Padres, should not be turned out of the town so long as you continued in power. There were other things likewise urged at the same time, as the conveniency of sending young Andrew Cogan along with Mr. Gyfford to Macassar, not only that he might learn somewhat under him, but likewise that he might be diverted from the French Padres' follies, to which he had been too much seduced. To which motion your Worship at that time seemed willingly to condescend, and promised to put it into execution; but in two or three days after (by the French Padres' persuasions) your Worship's mind was altered, so that now the boy has become their proselyte. Seeing the French Padres to bear so much sway in this business as well as in others, it was thought convenient to write to the Honourable Company for redress, and was accordingly put in execution, Mr. Shingler drawing a form which he delivered into my hands, and desired me either to add or alter what I should think fit; I altered but little or nothing; what I added was approved of on condition that I would attest it myself, which I promised to do in the margin of the letter before I delivered it to the Honourable Company. The second and third clauses were the additions; the first of which is concerning the French Padres baptising of Englishmen's children in private, of which I can give an instance in Mr. Ivie's time, then Agent, at my first coming to this place. The child was a soldier's belonging to the Fort (as the mother of the child affirmed); his name was Richard Underwood; who coming to me to desire me to baptise his child, and going about to provide gossips, one of the French Padres (Ephraim de Nevers by name) hearing of it, comes in a great fury to me, and tells me he hoped I would not baptise a child which was baptised before; which I wondered at, and sent for the father of the child, and acquainted him with it, who protested he never knew of any such thing; and the Padre himself being demanded who were witnesses, would not tell the Agent,

pretending that he could not. Upon which the Agent gave him a check, and threatened if he heard of any more such complaints, he would turn him out of the town. So the child was baptised by me in the form which the Church enorders in such cases of uncertainty.

'The other clause which I promised to attest was concerning their visiting our sick which lie out of the Fort; I could instance in several, but will mention but one at present, William Newbegan by name, who lying upon his death bed, I going (that night in which he departed this world) to visit him, found Padre Zenon upon his knees close by him, either praying by him, or confessing him, I know not which; but as soon as he espied me, away he slipt; of which his bold intrusion into my office I complained to President Baker, and I think he rebuked him for it; but to my knowledge they have been guilty of the same fact several times since. This is all that I shall say at present concerning the two afore mentioned clauses; what else is inserted in the letter, 'tis fit the subscribers (if any) should declare, but this is the declaration of me

'WILL. ISAACSON.

'Fort St. George
'Aug. le 10th, 1660.'

From this letter it is evident that Isaacson was in the Fort some time during the reign of President Aaron Baker. The name of William Newbegan is on the list[1] of inhabitants despatched from Fort St. George at the end of the year 1654, in which Henry Greenhill appears as Agent. Aaron Baker gave place to Greenhill in January 1654–5. It is reasonable to suppose that Newbegan died at about this time, just before Baker gave over charge, and that this must have been the time when the incident took place which Isaacson describes. There is no other record of Isaacson's presence at the Fort at this time. Probably he came down with one of the ships from Suratt or from England, and did duty whilst he stayed ashore, thus giving Joseph Thomson an opportunity to visit Masulipatam.

It is also evident that Isaacson used the Prayer Book of the Church of England, though its use had been proscribed by the English Parliament since January 1645.

[1] O.C. No. 2457.

The above letter of Isaacson to the Agent, Mr. Thomas Chamber, had the twofold effect of causing the Agent to consult the other Merchants and Factors at the Fort about the French Padres, and then to issue an order regulating their proceedings. He seems to have explained to the Factors the reason of his original refusal to forbid the Padres the Fort; and as the reason was both politic and prudent, the wonder is that he had not taken them into his confidence before. If he had banished the Padres, the Portuguese soldiers would probably have deserted. William à Court, the senior Factor, accepted his explanation at once, and added a postscript to the letter of the 24th of January dating it August 1660; he mentioned that the Governor had forbidden public processions, and that the French Padres had promised to keep their ceremonies within their own walls, and not to try and seduce the soldiers or anyone else 'from our congregation'; and he added that as the banishment of the Padres would mean the weakening of the garrison, it would be better to allow them to remain, so long as they exercised their religion privately. With this Thomas Shingler agreed in a separate minute, also dated in August. William Daniell wrote a separate minute in the month of October, also agreeing with the policy of the Governor as explained by William à Court. The whole correspondence was forwarded to the Directors at the end of the year 1660 (January 1660–1), with a letter, by William Gyfford, who had now become Agent, in which he declared his agreement with the later opinions on the same grounds, but left the decision with the Company as to whether anything more should be done or not.

The following letter[1] belongs to this period: from internal evidence it must have been written by one of the signatories of the letter dated 24th January 1659–60; and as it was replied to by the Directors in February 1661–2, it was probably despatched at about the same time as the correspondence mentioned above; and it was probably written by William Gyfford, who officiated as Agent after the departure of Thomas Chamber.

[1] O.C. No. 1983 (misplaced in the records).

From the Agent at Fort St. George to the Hon. Company.

Right Worshipful and ever honoured Sirs.

He begins by complaining of five inconveniences,

(1) That the Agent has no Council to assist him.

(2) That the inhabitants are inconvenienced when the Agents buy up rice and dictate prices.

(3) The private trade of the ship captains.

(4) The want of a Church, Minister, and Schoolmaster.

(5) 'There is another inconvenience which to me seems very preposterous, that the Hon. Company should want a Church for the service of God in their own town, when the Roman Catholics have one that stands in the heart of the town, where they have likewise a churchyard to bury their dead, whilst we are forced to carry our dead corpses out of the town. Besides there are so many of their "pittiful Christians" die of foul diseases, that in time of the heates it is enough to breed infection. I am certain the scent is very noisome to them that live near the Burying place. I have spoken sufficiently of the two French Padres' insolencies in another writing, therefore shall not enlarge further on that subject.'

The want of a Minister was due to the departure of Mr. William Isaacson with the ships of January 1660–1—a year later than he intended.

The Company replied to the foregoing letters in February 1661–2,[1] thus:—

'We have received several informations and complaints of many evil practises which have been exercised in our town of Madras by the French Padres, which are not to be tolerated where the Protestant religion is professed, viz. their marching to the Burial place before the dead corpse with Bell, Book, Candle and Cross,—intending to visit such persons in their sicknesses who have professed the Protestant Religion,—endeavouring to seduce them to their idolatrous customs of praying to Saints etc.,—as also to baptise the children of Englishmen immediately on their coming into the world;—we having taken these things into our serious considerations have resolved, and do strictly require you that you do not

[1] *Early Despatches*, vol. ii.

permit or suffer in any wise the said French Padres or any others within the limits of our power publicly to make any processions or ceremonies or walking before any dead corpse with Bell, Book, Candle, Cross or any of them, or to baptise any English infants, or to visit any English that it shall please God to afflict with sickness, either in our Fort or within the town, thereby to confess or seduce them to their Popish vanities. And therefore that those particulars may be punctually observed we do desire that you do not only give the said Padres notice of them, but that also you take especial care that they be duly and constantly observed; and that they presume not to exercise any of their ceremonies whatsoever without the confines of their own walls. We do further require that, for the preservation of the health of our people, and for the prevention of infectious diseases, you order them to forbear to bury any more corps in their usual Burying place or churchyard, the smell whereof is very noisome in the time of Heats to those who live near that place; but that they find out some place without our town, and there to inter all their dead.'

The severe tone of this despatch was due to three causes. The writers of the original complaint dated the 24 January 1659–60 asked that the orders might be positive, and couched in such a way as not to be 'contradicted by any power in this place.' Padre Isaacson had arrived in London, and had probably given to the Directors the further information he promised. And the King had returned; and by his return had strengthened the confidence of the Directors in themselves. The period of the Commonwealth had not been a prosperous one for them. Whatever the private opinions of the London merchants may have been on the subjects in dispute between the King and the Parliament, or between the Church and the Puritans, they could have had but one opinion about the effect of civil war on trade. Matters were so bad in 1654 that all the English Factories on the Coromandel Coast, except Fort St. George and Masulipatam, were closed.[1] One by one they were reopened, as public confidence was restored at home and trade increased. But it was not till

[1] William Curtis and John Chambers were commissioned to voyage to Coromandel and to close all the Factories except the ones mentioned. *Factory Records; Early Despatches*, 1654.

the Restoration and the renewal of the royal charter that the London Company of East India merchants prospered as they had never prospered before. Their position had been a very difficult one during the political and ecclesiastical changes which took place between 1640 and 1660. When the bishops and clergy were deprived of their benefices in 1643, let it be recorded to their honour that the Company made no change in its rightly ordained Chaplains. And when the Book of Common Prayer was by the same fanatics proscribed, and its use forbidden in England under penalties, let it be recorded again to their honour that the Company gave no order and took no steps.

No new Chaplains were appointed by the Company during these troubled times; but the paragraphs in the Commissions of the Commanders of their ships relating to worship and Sabbath keeping were retained year by year; 'let not this duty be omitted either evening or morning.'[1] 'We cannot expect a blessing from God upon our actions without we shall endeavour to walk in those rules and follow those commands which He hath prescribed unto us.'[2] 'We know of nothing more at present to recommend unto you, only to press upon you in the first place that you endeavour to manifest and make glorious your profession and Christian Religion in ordering your lives and conversations according to the rule of God's Holy Word, living honestly soberly and lovingly one towards another that the blessing of the Almighty may abide with you.'[3] Every fresh commission contained a paragraph of this kind. The actual wording varied; but the idea was the same in each. In 1657 politics seemed to have settled down into a more or less permanent form. Oliver Cromwell had renewed the Company's Charter, and had promised to convoy their ships to and from St. Helena. If the supply of Ministers was to be kept up some fresh appointments must be made at once. The merchants of the City had been sorely tried by the fanatical excesses of the Presbyterians and the Independents. They would not trust themselves to make an

[1] Commission to Captain W. Hargrave of the Welcome, 1657.
[2] Commission to Captain Jeremy Blackman, Pres.-Elect of Suratt, 1650.
[3] Despatch to Fort St. George, dated 27th March 1658.

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appointment as they had been accustomed to do before the troubles began, when every clergyman had undergone the episcopal scrutiny before receiving his letters of Orders and his licence to preach. They would apply to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge; and so the following letter was written [1]:—

'Sent to Doctor Connett, vice Chancellor, Doctor John Owen, Doctor Tho: Goodwin, and Doctor Henry Wilkinson at Oxford, and to Doctor Tuckney and Doctor Arrowsmith at Cambridge.

'Worshipful.

'The East India Company having resolved to endeavour the advance and spreading of the gospel in India, and the settlement of an orthodox godly minister, such an one as may instruct and teach the people that shall be committed to his charge, in building them up in the knowledge of God and faith in Jesus Christ, we do therefore make these our desires known unto you, entreating that you would be pleased to afford us your assistance herein, by recommending unto us for this purpose some such person whom you shall approve and declare to be a fit instrument, both willing and able to undergo and manage this great and good work.

. . . .

'For his encouragement we have settled an allowance of £100 per annum certain, with accommodation of diet, and there is no question but his other benefits will be very considerable.

. . . .

(Signed) 'MAURICE THOMSON, *Govr.*
'AND SEVEN OTHERS.

'East India House:
'The 13 February, 1657.'

This appeal to the Universities was not successful. There is no record of any appointment of a Chaplain till five years after the letter was written.

At the conclusion of this period a remarkable suggestion was made to the Directors of the Company. It produced no result at the time, for the reason that the time was an unfavourable one; but it was not lost sight of by those who

[1] *Early Despatches*, vol. ii.; also printed in the *Diary of William Hedges*, vol. ii. page ccli.; and in Hyde's *Parochial Annals of Bengal*, page 1.

were interested in the subject, more especially by Mr. Robert Boyle himself, so that it bore fruit before the end of the century. The suggestion was made by Mr. Richard Baxter, the eminent nonconformist. He wrote a letter to the Company suggesting that their Agents in the East should be instructed to try and propagate the Christian religion by distributing an explanation of its principles which had been translated at Oxford into Arabic. This is the record of the letter and its reception[1] :—

'Upon reading a letter from Mr. Richard Baxter, an eminent divine, wherein he requested the Company's permission that some number of the books named Grotius de veritate religionis Christianæ which are translated into the Arabicke tongue at the charge of Mr. Robert Boyle, might by some of the Company's Agents be prudently dispersed in such places of the Company's trade (not in the Turkish empire) where that language is understood, to the end Christianity may be established among those infidels, The Court was very ready to promote so pious a work, so they may be first satisfied that those books have the allowance of authority.'

The Directors, whilst declaring their willingness to promote mission work, were obliged to be cautious in their reply. The times were dangerous. Richard Baxter, though an eminent divine, was an unstable character, whose lead they were not quite sure it was safe to follow. He was an ordained priest of the Church of England, and had been duly collated to the vicarage of Kidderminster in 1640 before the civil troubles of the kingdom commenced. Then he threw in his lot with the Presbyterians. Later on he sided with the Independents. The work of Grotius which he recommended to the Directors of the East India Company was a work written against Calvinism. The Directors were obliged to be careful; for the Independents were Calvinists.

The suggestion, however, must be remembered as the first that was made to the Company to give the natives of India a knowledge of Christianity. The Arabic translation would not have effected the pious purpose. This Richard Baxter did

[1] *Court Minute Book*, 14 Nov. 1660.

not know. But the credit of making the suggestion belongs to this undoubtedly religious and highly intellectual but wayward son of the Church.

The story of the building of Fort St. George has already been dug out of the early records and published.[1] It is not necessary to repeat it; but it will perfect this history to give the following particulars of the early Agents and Presidents; and to connect them with the early Chaplains. The names and dates have been extracted from the Factory Records at the India Office.

1642. Andrew Cogan. Promoted to Bantam in 1643.

1643. Francis Day.

1644. Thomas Ivie. During his Presidentship the petition for a minister was sent to Suratt and to London; and Isaacson was sent from Suratt.

1648. Henry Greenhill. Isaacson returned to Suratt and Winchester took his place, and remained for two years.

1652. Aaron Baker. During his Presidentship Isaacson visited the Fort a second time, and Winchester also; a second Chaplain on the Coast, Joseph Thomson, was stationed for a time at Masulipatam; when Winchester sailed away, he was brought to Fort St. George.

1655. Henry Greenhill. Joseph Thomson remained at the Fort during this Presidentship until 1658.

1659. Thomas Chamber. Isaacson returned for the third time to the Fort and remained two years.

1661. William à Court officiated till the arrival of his senior.

1661. William Gyfford officiated till the arrival of the Company's own nominee.

1662. Sir Edward Winter. During his Presidentship there were three Chaplains on the Coast; Charles Walsh, William Whitefield and Simon Smythes.

After this period the Presidents and Governors continue as in the published lists.[2]

[1] *The Founding of Fort St. George, Madras*, by William Foster, B.A. Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1902.

[2] *History of Fort St. George.*

CHAPTER III

THE NEXT TWENTY YEARS, 1660–1680

WILLIAM ISAACSON'S place at the Fort was taken by Mr. William Whitefield. No record has been found of Whitefield's appointment by the Court of Directors. It is probable that the ship which took home Isaacson brought out Whitefield; and that the two ministers were both on the Coast from the date of the ship's arrival to the date of its departure.

During the year 1661 Whitefield was alone at the Fort. His spiritual charge was not a heavy one; there can be no doubt that he had a good deal of time on his hands, and sighed for books. He accordingly brought to the notice of the Agent and the resident merchants the fact that there was no library in the settlement, and that he himself had a personal and professional need of one. The merchants appear to have collected among themselves a sum of money for the purpose of gratifying their new Minister. This they invested in a bale of calico, which they sent home in the ships of January 1661–2 to be sold in London; and they asked the Governor of the Company to effect the sale, to purchase the books mentioned in the list they sent, and to send them out.

The following resolution on this matter is found in the Court Minute Book under date 20 Feb. 1662–3:—

'It was ordered that the remainder of the proceeds of the calicoes sold by the Governor, which was given the Minister at the Fort by the Factors, and sent home to buy him books, should be sent him in rialls of 8 after the books are paid for.'

In their General Letter to Fort St. George of the same date, 20 Feb. 1662–3, the Directors said:—

'On our last year's shipping came to our hands a bale of moorees, sent for account of your Minister, to be sold and

returned in books; the said calicoes are accordingly sold, and amounted to £85 sterling, in which sum we have bestowed in several books (as per list herewith sent you) the sum of £58 10s. 0d.; the remainder, being £26 10s. 0d., deducting thereout for several charges, we have given to Captain Charles Wyld in 23½ pieces of gold to be delivered to your said Minister.'

It cannot be determined in the absence of all evidence whether this handsome present of books was a personal or an official one. It can only be guessed that it was official. The Directors, however, took the hint; and a year later[1] purchased books to the value of £20, which they directed to be kept in the Fort for the use of succeeding Ministers. These presentations were jointly the origin of the Company's library at the Fort.

William Whitefield was alone at the Fort during 1661. At the same time that the Fort St. George merchants were sending home money for books, the Directors were choosing and sending out another Chaplain. In doing this they made no reference to Whitefield, nor to Masulipatam; and as there was no necessity at that time for the presence of two Ministers at the Fort the only possible inference is that they intended to relieve Whitefield and enable him to return home.

Their choice fell upon Master Charles Walsh, 'an able orthodox divine who was well recommended, and who they were encouraged to believe would be very exemplary in his conversation'; he was to go with Sir Edward Winter to Fort St. George, and his wife was allowed to go with him.[2] The Court wrote thus of him to the Agent and Council of Fort St. George[3]:—

'On the ship Madras taketh passage Mr. Charles Walsh, a Minister, whose salary is £50 per annum, to begin at his arrival with you; and end at his coming for England, decease, or leaving our service.'

The Directors gave him a free passage, and £10 for provisions on the voyage, and advanced him £25 out of his

[1] Letter to Fort St. George, 26 Jan. 1663–4.
[2] *Court Minutes*, 17 and 18 Feb. 1661–2.
[3] Despatch, 20 Feb. 1661–2, postscript. *Factory Records*, vol. 3.

salary which was to be repaid when he received his salary at the Fort. The cost of provisions on the voyage was about £20 for one person. The effect of this ungenerous arrangement was that Mr. Walsh had no pay during the five months of the voyage; when he arrived he had to live without pay for six months; then £25 became due to him; and this he had to repay to the Treasurer on account of the loan granted him in London. It is not surprising that he did not find it advantageous to stay very long in the Company's service. He arrived in July 1662, and returned home at the beginning of the next year, leaving Whitefield in spiritual charge. The presence of the two Ministers on the Coast during the latter half of 1662 made a visit to the factors at Masulipatam possible. There can be no doubt that the visit was made.

In 1663 someone, either at Fort St. George or in London, gave the Directors an unfavourable report of Sir Edward Winter with respect to his religious sympathies. Since 1657 the Company had been increased by the addition of members not of its own choosing. It traded with special privileges under royal charter till 1649, when the death of the King terminated the charter. From that time till 1657 the trade was open to any adventurers. In 1657 Oliver Cromwell re-established the Company in its privileges of exclusive trade on the basis of coalition with the principal independent merchant adventurers.[1] This coalition brought about religious and political differences which could be and were restrained in the Court of Directors itself, but could not in the same way be restrained in the factories abroad. When the Board meetings were over the Directors dispersed to their offices or their homes. There was not necessarily any communication between them till the next Board meeting. The merchants and factors abroad could never get away from one another. When they separated at the conclusion of business, it was to meet again for meals and conversation—an excellent plan so long as all were agreed, but a dangerous one in times of political and religious disquiet.

[1] Bruce's *Annals*, p. 516. Anderson's *History of the Colonial Church*, ii. 267. Evelyn's *Diary*, 26 Nov. 1657.

In their method of dealing with the report the Directors themselves are not free from blame; for from this period they commenced a policy which they pursued for the next thirty years, of listening to tales against their servants behind their backs. Without making further enquiry, they dealt with the unfavourable report in a letter to Fort St. George,[1] dated the 16th Dec. 1663, in which they said:—

'Notwithstanding we, in our instructions given our said Agent, did in the first place recommend unto his due observation the promoting of the worship and service of the Almighty as that which would bring a blessing along with it on all other his actions if conscionably performed, he hath (as we are informed) neglected the same. And instead of exercising himself and those under his charge in the Protestant Religion, he rather countenanceth and encourageth the Popish Mass to the great dishonour of Almighty God and reproach to the Protestant Profession.'

This despatch brought forth a reply from the President and Council, from which it appears that the charge was unfounded, and that Mr. Whitefield—the Minister at the Fort at the time it was made—was cited as a witness to prove its untruth. The letter is dated January 1664-5.[2] It is signed by the President and by the three Members of Council; it may therefore be taken as something more than a personal denial of the charges.

'As touching your Worships' last accusation your information is so ridiculous a falsity that your Agent almost thinks it better to answer it with silence; therefore we will say no more than this that Mr. Whitefield, who was our Minister, can testify to your Worships that your Agent constantly himself attended public prayers, except some days during the church's repair, and commanded all under him so to do, and punished them with an amercement if they neglected, insomuch that thereby we have a small stock of money gathered for the poor; and for the Popish religion he hath publicly shewn his distaste against it by banishing the town two of their Bishops, who would have been tampering with some who were baptised

[1] *Factory Records*, vol. 3.
[2] O.C. No. 3046.

into our Religion; and the same party[1] had something left (by one that is gone home) to enjoy it so long as they kept the Protestant Religion; whereupon your Agent permitted them not to possess it, unless they would renounce the Romish Church and come constantly to ours; which, they performing, do enjoy their estate again. Thus your Worships have received an answer to your charge against your Agent, etc.:—

(Signed) 'EDWARD WINTER.
'WILLIAM GYFFORD.
'JEREMY SAMBROOKE.
'WILLIAM DAWES.'

The letter shows that at this early period some little pressure was being put upon the country-born to acknowledge the religion as well as the nationality of their fathers.

Six months before this letter of explanation was written Mr. Simon Smithees[2] had arrived at Fort St. George. His appointment was thus announced in a postscript to the Company's despatch dated 26 Jan. 1663-4[3]:—

'Since writing and signing the preceding part we have entertained Mr. Symon Smithees, a Minister of God's Word, one that we hope will not only by his preaching and doctrine instruct and direct our people in their way to happiness, but also in his life and conversation be an example of holiness; he proceeds on the Coronation; we have made his salary £50 per annum, and have also disbursed the sum of £20 in books, a list whereof we herewith send you, which books we do appoint shall remain in the Fort for the use of any succeeding Minister after the return or decease of the said Mr. Smithees.'

On the same date the Company wrote a kindly letter of instructions to Mr. Smithes himself.[4]

'The good testimony we have received of your abilities for the work of the Ministry, and having a strong hope that your life and conversation will be such as becometh your calling, we have therefore entertained you to proceed on the

[1] *I.e.*, some of the Roman Catholic inhabitants of the Fort.

[2] So spelled in the letter to Fort St. George, reporting the appointment; he signed his own name Simon Smythes (O.C. No. 3075), and Simon Smithes (O.C. No. 3076), but more often Simon Smythes (O.C. No. 3078 and No. 3107).

[3] *Letters to Fort St. George*; also *Court Minutes*, 20 Jan. 1663–4.

[4] Despatch, 26 Jan. 1663–4.

ship "Coronation" for Fort St. George, in which ship for your accommodation (together with our factor Mr. Jeremy Sambrooke) we have appointed the use of the great cabin, and have given order for the setting up a convenient place for your lodging.

'During your voyage to the Fort we recommend unto your careful performance the daily exercise of prayer both morning and evening aboard our ship, and in especial the due observation of the keeping holy the Sabboth Day in prayer and preaching and other good duties, and as far as in you lieth to suppress all swearing drunkenness and other unchristian behaviour in all or any of the ship's company by reproofs and admonitions as you shall see occasion, that the blessing of the Almighty may accompany you in your voyage.

'When it shall please God to arrive you at Fort St. George let it be your great care to instruct our people in the way to heaven and happiness, and to that purpose to be constant in prayers and good admonitions daily as occasion shall be offered; more especially let the Sabbath be sanctified by preaching and prayer with all due reverence, as becometh the servants of the Lord of Sabboths, who will doubtless bless and crown your good and faithful endeavours in his service with happiness here and glory hereafter.

'In the town of Madras you will find several Priests and others of the Romish Religion. And because we doubt not but you are a well grounded champion in our Protestant profession, we would have you, as opportunity may present, entertain a controversy or dispute with them in opposition to their Popish ceremonies and sacraments; although it may not so far prevail upon them as to a reformation, yet it may be for the confirming of our own people to be constant in the Protestant profession according to the rules and directions in the Holy Scriptures.

'We shall not further enlarge because we doubt not that you will not only observe what precedes, but what also may conduce to the glory of God, and promoting of religion, both by your doctrine and holy and unblameable life. We therefore recommend you to the Almighty and remain

'Your very loveing friends,

'Thomas Chambrelan, *Govr.*
'Samuel Barnardiston. 'John Bathurst.
'Wm. Thomson. 'Thomas Papillon.
'George Ld. Berkely. 'Christopher Boone.
'Maurice Thomson.'

The form of valediction employed in this letter is worthy of remark. It was the form used by the East India Company when writing to their servants abroad from the very beginning of their authority in the East; and it continued to be observed as long as the authority of the Company lasted.[1]

Simon Smythes arrived at Fort St. George in the middle of 1664. He found that his spiritual charge consisted of the Agent, six Factors, the Surgeon, the Commandant of the garrison, 24 English soldiers, a few British and Portuguese Eurasians, together with a small number of English and Eurasian women and children.

During the year the Directors received other charges against Sir Edward Winter and some of their servants at Fort St. George. Again they perpetrated the injustice of acting on the information without seeking an explanation from the accused. They wrote to the Agent and Council[2] informing them

1. That they had received advice that Sir Edward Winter wished to return to England when his contract time expired on the 21 Sept. 1665.

2. That they had entertained Mr. George Foxcroft to supply his place.

3. That they had constituted and ordained the following persons to form his Council, namely: Sir Edward Winter (until his departure), Mr. William Blake, Mr. William Jearsey, Mr. Charles Proby, Mr. John Nicklaes and Mr. Jeremy Sambroke.

The same letter contained orders to strengthen the Fort; and advice of the despatch of soldiers, guns and musketts. There were also orders to occupy Tuticorin lest the Dutch should get possession of it. Finally there were orders to enquire into the complaints against Winter, Blake, Jearsie, Nicklaes, Proby and Dearing. The letter, which concluded in the usual manner, was signed by William Thomson, Governor, and the rest of the Directors.

[1] A note on this form by Sir George Birdwood, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., is printed in *The First Letter Book of the East India Company*, edited by Birdwood and Foster, p. 152.

[2] Despatch, 21 Dec. 1664.

When Foxcroft was appointed, he made various conditions before he consented to go. He was permitted to take his son Nathanael and a Mr. Joseph Farley as Factors; he was permitted to nominate a Surgeon; and 'observing that he had liberty to present a Minister, he desired to know the usual terms for a Minister that he might propose it to a person in his eye.' The Court resolved that, as 'there is two Ministers there already, they did not think it convenient to send another now, unless he can meet with a very fitt man that will carry his wife out to live there, and preach and keep a school beside; which being made known to him, he was well satisfied therewith.' Eventually he did not nominate a Chaplain.[1]

Mr. George Foxcroft carried his commission with him; it was dated the 21st December 1664, and contained orders to treat Sir Edward Winter with all respect:—'Sir Edward to be next to you in Counsell, and to sit at your end of the table on the left hand of you our Agent.' He also carried a letter to Sir Edward Winter of the same date, ordering him to give over charge to Foxcroft, offering him the second seat in Council, and allowing him to bring two or three tons of goods free, on his return home, as a demonstration of respect and kindness to him. The anonymous charges against Winter were

1. Self-aggrandizement at the expense of the Company.
2. Profuse expenditure of the Company's money.
3. That he employed the Company's servants to carry on his private trade.

During the following three months Winter and his friends nursed their resentment at this unjust supersession; and probably arrived at some just conclusions regarding backbiting. What happened at the end of the three months has been ably related by Wheeler[2]: he states that Winter and his party suddenly made an attack on Foxcroft and his party[3]; Bruce[4] says that Foxcroft and his son and Jeremy Sambrooke attacked Winter and his party, viz.: William Dawes, Charles Proby, Lieutenant Chuseman of the Garrison,

[1] *Court Minutes*, 19 Oct. 1664.
[2] *Madras in the Olden Time.*
[3] O.C. No. 3080.
[4] Bruce's *Annals*.

and Simon Smythes the Chaplain. However, the result was that Dawes was killed, several were wounded, Foxcroft was overpowered and imprisoned with his son, and Winter re-assumed the direction of affairs. This happened in September 1665. Winter's excuse was that Foxcroft had spoken treasonable words: his friends, including Mr. Simon Smythes the Chaplain, deposed on oath to this effect. Joseph Farley declared that though he heard the words asserted to be treason, yet he did not allow them to be treason; he took the side of Sir Edward Winter, but disclaimed all knowledge of his ends.[1] The Company felt that their authority had been despised, and appealed to the King to uphold it. This His Majesty did; so that on the 21st May 1668 Mr. George Foxcroft was reinstated as Agent. But after a searching enquiry by the Company's Commissary, Sir William Langhorne, the Company altered their opinion of the two men. Foxcroft was deposed; Sir William Langhorne was appointed to reign in his stead; and both Winter and Foxcroft were recalled to England in 1670. It is a curious fact, worthy of notice, that during the usurpation of Sir Edward Winter 1665–8 trade with Fort St. George went on as usual. The fleets of merchantmen came and went. The complaint of the Company was, not that their affairs were being administered badly, but that they were being administered by men not of their own choosing. They made much more of the incident than was necessary; they affected a fear that Sir Edward Winter would deliver the Fort to the Dutch; and they suggested that he had bribed Proby, Chuseman, and Smythes to act with him.

The Directors had however some excuse for the attitude they took up; they hardly knew what to believe; they received conflicting reports from both sides. Jeremy Sambroke reported[2] that Sir E. Winter 'employed his drunken chaplain (who had married his kinswoman) to stir up the faction against Foxcroft,' meaning Simon Smythes. Foxcroft in his narrative hurled similar accusations against all his enemies including the Company's Chaplain.[3] And the other party

[1] O.C. No. 3220. [2] O.C. No. 3052. [3] O.C. No. 3098.

with equal liberality accused their opponents of various irregularities.

In their letter to the Agent and Council dated 24 January 1667–8 the Directors notified the appointment of two fresh Ministers, Mr. William Thomson, 'to reside at the Fort, if it shall be reduced, his salary (£50) to begin from his going aboard at Gravesend, and to be paid in India; also £50 to be paid in England as a gratuity, as he shall be found to deserve'; and Mr. Walter Hooke, 'likewise a Minister of God's Word, to reside at Masulipatam, if the Fort be reduced; else to go for the Bay, and to have the same allowance' etc.

William Thomson was recommended to the Court by Mr. Benjamin Albyn, one of the Directors. On the day of his recommendation he was called in before the Court and 'declared his willingness to embrace their service. Mr. West a Minister gave testimony both of his gifts and grace and of the good success that had attended his ministry.'[1] A week later he was elected by the Court and appointed. Walter Hooke was recommended to the Court by another Director, Sir Francis Clarke.[2]

Profiting by a former experience the Court gave more generous terms to Thomson and Hooke than they had hitherto given. They gave £20 to each for providing necessaries on the voyage. They gave the same salary; but they promised a gratuity of the same amount 'if they should be found to deserve it'; which was equivalent to doubling the salary. They made the salary to commence on going on board at Gravesend; but the gratuity was to commence on arrival in India. They ordered, however, that the salary was to be paid in India, as it became due; but the gratuity was to be paid in England. In effect they held half the Chaplains' pay in reserve, intending to pay them the gratuity in a lump sum on their return from the East if they were well reported of by the Agents.

A list of the books in the Company's Library at Fort St.

[1] *Court Minutes*, 29 Nov. and 4 Dec. 1667.
[2] Do. 13 Dec. 1667 and 3 Jan. 1667–8.

George having been delivered to Mr. Thomson, the two new Chaplains took their leave of the Court.[1]

In the letter announcing the appointment of Thomson and Hooke the Directors added :—'We have received reports of the irreligious and disorderly practises of many of our servants ; and being very desirous to redress the same, have therefore agreed upon the Rules herewith sent you, of which we require a strict observation.' These are often referred to as the 1667 Rules.

These two ministers arrived at Fort St. George in July 1668. They remained there till the 3rd September, when one of the coasting vessels carried Hooke to Metchlepatam with a general letter from the Governor and Council of Fort St. George to the Chief and Council of the subordinate settlement.[2] In this letter they said :—

'They[3] have also provided a godly, prudent, and sober minister, Mr. Walter Hooke, who goeth in one of these ships to reside with you, to whom we pray you give all encouragement and assistance. The Company before his coming out of England was acquainted that he could not conform to the Common Prayer ; nevertheless they have sent both him to you and Mr. William Thomson to us, who is of the same mind ; and seeing the Company, notwithstanding their knowledge thereof, have sent them, in this place we do not enjoin anything upon them, but without imposing leave them to their own liberty ; but we are very glad to partake of their pious and profitable labours in reading and expounding the Scriptures and preaching, in all which they employ themselves with much diligence piety and sobriety, and we hope will prove a great blessing to us and our people.'

There is nothing in the Court Minutes to substantiate this statement. The letter containing it is signed by the President and all the members of Council—George Foxcroft, Jeremy Sambrooke, Richard Smithson, John Bridger and John Hall. As will be seen Hooke and Thomson appear to have been rightly ordained ; but on arrival at Fort St. George they appear to have declined to conform with the law requiring

[1] *Court Minutes*, 27 Jan. 1667–8.
[2] *Factory Records*, vol. 16. Letter dated 26 Aug. 1668, p. 6.
[3] The Company.

the use of the Prayer Book. It is probable that in doing this they were relying upon the support of the Puritan President and members of Council. But although by order of the Company the Puritan party was in power, the majority of the merchants on the Coast were not Puritans, and had no sympathy with nonconformity. It is on record that there were disputes and unpleasantness at Metchlepatam; there must have been similar signs of disapproval at Fort St. George. Mr. George Foxcroft and his party were warned by the signs and withdrew their support; and in 1669 they reported against the newcomers to the Directors.

Simon Smythes stayed on the Coast till the beginning of the year 1669; but he did not exercise his functions as a Chaplain after the arrival of William Thomson. In a letter which Sir Edward Winter wrote to his brother dated 28 April, 1669,[1] he refers to Padre Smythes' departure, 'by whom I largely wrote'; and he mentions his own departure to Masulipatam by sea—his wife and Padre Smythes' wife going by land. A year later Mrs. Smythes was allowed to have a passage home in one of the Company's ships at the request of her husband.[2]

In 1667 Smythes appears to have complained to the Directors of the slackness of official attendance at divine service; and in 1668 of a want of respect shown to himself under the new government of Foxcroft. The Directors therefore wrote[3]:

'By the aforesaid letter we have complaints that there was not that respect given to one of our Ministers, as is due to him in his employment, and as we directed. Wherefore as we wrote to you the last year, so we now again require that you encourage him in his work of the Ministry by your attendance thereupon, and causing others so to do, and to give respect unto his person as befits him in his place. And we have written unto him to behave himself with wisdom and prudence, so as to make his labours in the Gospel more acceptable.'

This rebuke must have reached Fort St. George in the

[1] Inserted in the volume of Letters to Fort St. George of this date.
[2] Directors' Despatch, 7th Dec. 1669.
[3] Despatch, 20 Nov. 1668.

early part of 1669, just before the departure of Smythes, and when Hooke and Thomson had been on the coast about nine months. It was evident from this that the Directors were not in favour of nonconformity. It was equally evident that there was a strong local feeling in favour of the ordinances and the services of the Church. The President and Council therefore drafted a remonstrance against the two new ministers; and sent copies to the Directors, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the King. They stated that Hooke and Thomson were mere laymen; that they refused to use the Liturgy; or 'to baptise, marry, or bury as by law established.' The petitioners proceeded, 'we therefore make it our humble request and desire to the Hon. Company that as we do and have in this far country served them both to the hazard of our lives and estates, they would for the service of God in the first place, and next the comfort of our souls and the honour of the gospel among the heathen,' recall the two lay officiants and send out properly ordained ministers.[1] The petition was considered by the Court at Whitehall[2] as well as by the Court of Directors; and though the two Chaplains were rightly ordained, it was considered advisable to recall them. But in their letter of the 7th Dec. 1669 the Directors wrote :—

'We formerly having observed our factories much disordered, we used our endeavours to get able and pious ministers to instruct them in the knowledge and fear of God, and their duty towards us; and thereupon entertained Mr. Thomson and Mr. Hooke (being learned orthodox and Protestant ordained Ministers and loyal to His Majesty) in that employment; who being (as we are advised) in the conscientious discharge of their duties in preaching and admonishing our factors, to leave off their disorderly practises, they took thereupon an occasion not only to discountenance them in their preaching, but to frame a remonstrance against them, wherein, though they lay no evil to their charge, yet they have filled it with reproaches, such as their invective fancies could suggest, which they sent over not only to us but to His Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury; and it being pre-

[1] Article by Sir W. Hunter in the *Fortnightly Review*, April 1896.
[2] On the 13th October 1669.

sented to the King, His Majesty hath been pleased to declare his pleasure that Mr. Thomson and Mr. Hooke be sent for home. Wherefore we require you to give them liberty to choose what ships they desire to take their passage in for England; and to take care that they be well accommodated in their voyage, upon whose return it may further be examined what grounds there were for such a Remonstrance.'[1]

Mr. George Foxcroft presided over the Council at Fort St. George from 1668 to 1670. One of the Factory Record Books[2] contains copies of the letters sent home during this period, sometimes by the Agent and Council, sometimes by persons who signed their names, and sometimes by persons who did not. They are all in the worst possible taste. An anonymous letter on page 131, dated 14 April 1668, accuses Robert Fleetwood, chief of Madapallam, of being the enemy of all goodness, and abuses five other of the Company's servants, using such terms as wicked, swearing, debauched, drunken etc.; it charges two of them with being the chief opposers of Mr. Hooke the Minister; and another is said to have drawn his sword on the Minister when reproved for swearing.

The Directors unfortunately took notice of this anonymous letter, and made enquiry of the Agent and Council regarding the lives of the men attacked. Their reply, dated the 19 July 1670,[3] is full of recriminations and excuses. They enclosed a charge delivered by Mr. Jeremy Sambrooke against Mr. Thomson, the Minister, with his answer thereto; they attacked some of their subordinates, and defended others, especially Jeremy Sambrooke; and they defended Fleetwood and Salisbury against the scandalous accusations which were made. They said:—

'We have neither had any satisfaction either by information or report that Mr. Robert Fleetwood or Mr. Ambrose Salisbury are persons of such profane spirits, scandalous lives or notoriously wicked as they are represented to you, unless their zeal for conformity and against nonconformity

[1] Letter to our Agent and Counsell at Fort St. George, 7th Dec. 1669.
[2] *Factory Records*, Miscellaneous, vol. 3.
[3] Do. Do. pp. 83–5.

are made the grounds for that accusation; and although Mr. Hooke at his going down to Metchlepatam made some complaints of Mr. Fleetwood's opposition, yet since Mr. Hooke's second time of going thither, and since Mr. Fleetwood being there as second,[1] he professed to have received all kindness from Mr. Fleetwood, and had that confidence in him that he made choice of him to be executor of his last will and testament.'

They defended a Company's servant named Arnold against a charge brought by Hooke, and this in a manner which leads one to suppose that they suspected the two ministers or their supporters of writing anonymously to their Honourable Masters; they said:—'Even Ministers in their heates are subject to light [*sic*] passions as other men, and may in the heate thereof utter such things which in calmer temper they recant; and therefore it is fit that their informations should be duly examined as well as other men's,' etc.

Soon after this letter was written, orders arrived at Fort St. George appointing Sir William Langhorne President; and so the reign of George Foxcroft with all its follies came to an end.

William Thomson went home as soon after his recall as possible. On the 10 Feb. 1670–1 the Directors paid 'Mr. Thomson, late Minister of the Fort,' a gratuity of £50.[2] And on the 27 Sept. 1671 they paid him a year's salary in compensation for his recall.[2]

Walter Hooke died at Masulipatam at about the time of his recall, December 1669. On the 8 July 1670[2] his gratuity of £50 was paid to his nominee by the Court. The following year, on the 4 Oct. 1671,[2] a further payment of £50 on account of salary was paid to his representative, Mr. Caleb Hooke; who made a claim also for the value of the books Walter Hooke left at Masulipatam, and was on the 3 January 1671–2[2] awarded the sum of £5 10s. 0d. The books were added to the Company's library at the factory. Mr. Hooke was the first Chaplain to leave his bones on the Coast.

[1] He was Chief of Madapollam, and therefore second to Mr. William Jearsey in the Masulipatam Council.
[2] *Court Minute Book*

When it was decided to recall Thomson and Hooke it was resolved to appoint two other Chaplains in their place. The Court received a satisfying character of the abilities, sobriety, and pious conversation of Mr. Thomas Bill; they elected him; they voted £5 for the purchase of certain books he required, which were to be added to the library at Fort St. George; and they directed him to take his passage in the Rainbow.[1] The other Chaplain elected was Mr. Edward Newcomb. This is the extract from the Court Minutes of the 6 Dec. 1669:—

'Mr. Thomas Bill, upon the recommendation of Mr. Ironside, Warden of Wadham College, and Mr. Grigg Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of London,—and Mr. Edward Newcome, upon the recommendation of the Lord Archbishop of York and Mr. Daniel Shelden, being elected as the Company's Chaplains in India; and their names being presented to Sir John Trevor, principal Secretary of State, and by him unto the King; His Majesty was pleased to declare his satisfaction that they might proceed accordingly without being presented elsewhere.

'It is ordered that it be referred to Mr. Albyn to provide the works of Cornelius à Lapide as an addition to the Library at Fort St. George.'

About two months before these appointments were made for the Coast factories, the Directors appointed a Committee[2] of four 'to speak with Mr. Samuel Tutchin, who is propounded to be a Chaplain in the Return, and to inform themselves of his qualifications for the work of the ministry, and to report the same unto the Court.' The result of the interview was that Tutchin was appointed to the Return on £3 a month, and received an allowance of £5 for the voyage.[3]

Mr. Thomas Bill was intended for Fort St. George, and Mr. Newcome for Masulipatam. It cannot be discovered from the records if the former even embarked for the voyage; but it is certain that he never arrived at Fort St. George. Newcomb arrived in the middle of the year 1670; he appears

[1] *Court Minutes*, 19 and 22 Nov. 1669.
[2] Masters Albyn, Papillon and Paige, and Major Thomson.
[3] *Court Minutes*, 12 Nov. 1669.

to have gone out in the Return with Samuel Tutchin. The Masulipatam factors being disappointed of their Chaplain, wrote to the Agent at Fort St. George,[1] and asked that Mr. Newcomb might be sent to Christen their children, they undertaking to be at the charge of returning him overland.

No reply has been found to this request; but it seems from the following letter that Newcomb had not paid a visit to Masulipatam at the time it was written. It is from the Chief at that Factory and his Council to the Company[2]:—

'We are in great hopes that by the next ship you will have provided us with a Minister; for though we neglect not the means appointed in want thereof, knowing God's goodness is sufficient, yet seeing at your Chief's departure you were pleased to allow us the hope of a speedy supply, that assurance and nearness quickens expectation; allowing the (same) difference between the efficaciousness of the ordinance (as to) the first and second delivery as the earth finds between the cold watering by the hand and a temperate and soaking rain; we had indeed as for us newcomers a very happy voyage out, Mr. Newcome and Mr. Tutchin, so able and so exemplary,' etc.

In July 1670 the Directors appointed Mr. John Hounsill, 'a minister of known learning and exemplary life,' of whom they received 'a very satisfying account' of his pious conversation, to serve them in one of their factories. They subsequently decided that he was to go to the Bay. His salary was to be £50, payable in India, and £50 gratuity payable on his return to England; but at his request both salary and gratuity were made payable in India. He was allowed £20 for the voyage. The Directors voted also £30 for the purchase of books for the Library at the Bay; and they allowed passages for his wife, her maid, her maid's child, and his own servant.[3] Newcomb died before Hounsill reached the Fort on the way to the Bay, to the regret of many at home and abroad; and the Council detained Hounsill to take his place. The Directors wrote on the 15 March 1670–1:—

[1] Metchlepatam Gen. Letter to the Fort, 14 July 1670. *Factory Records*, Masulipatam, vol. v.

[2] *Factory Records*, Masulipatam, 28 Dec. 1670.

[3] *Court Minutes*, 6 & 8 July, 7 & 9 Sept., 9 Nov. 1670.

'We are sorry for the death of Mr. Newcombe, but must submit to the will of God.' On Hounsill's arrival at the Fort the Agent and Council wrote as follows[1] :—

'Mr. John Hounsell, your Minister, a very worthy person, desires to have his whole salary of £100 per annum paid in Fort St. George;—we believe he will well deserve your favour;—had his wife lived he would have had more urgent need of it.

'The death of Mr. Newcombe, Minister, supersedes his friends' desires of having him to go for Metchlepatam.'

Hounsill's wife apparently died at the Fort soon after his arrival. He himself died there before July 1673; his death was reported to the Directors, who wrote to Fort St. George on the 13 March 1673–4:—'Mr. Hounsell, Minister; the death of that worthy person we are sorry for, and would have you to make use of the best means that God in his providence has continued.' In the same letter was announced the appointment of Tutchin as Minister at the Coast, and of Darley at the Bay.[2]

Samuel Tutchin returned home with his ship in 1671[3]; and went another voyage in the same ship to Bantam in 1672. Here he was ordered to remain as Chaplain, and the ship went home without him. Whilst at Bantam Hounsill died; and Tutchin received orders—presumably from Fort St. George, the presidency of all the factories at that time on the Coast and in the Bay—to go to the Fort. On arrival there it was necessary to raise the question of his pay and travelling expenses; for his sanctioned pay was that of a ship's Chaplain only. He submitted his case to the Agent and Council; and it came before the Court in November 1673.[4] The Court at once allowed him 'now a Chaplain of Fort St. George,' the pay of his post, that is, £50 salary, with £50 gratuity 'if he shall be found to deserve it,' both to commence from the time of his arrival there. Then the records show that they considered his further claims :—

[1] General letter home, 14 July 1671. *Factory Records*, O.C.
[2] *Factory Records, Home Series*, Miscellaneous, vol. 34.
[3] *Court Minutes*, 14 Sept. 1671.
[4] Do. 26 and 28 Nov. 1673.

'It having been represented unto the Court that Mr. Samuel Tutchin, who went out Chaplain on the Return and was left at Bantam, had been at a great charge in his transportation from thence into the Bay of Bengall and thence to the Fort' etc., Masters Shelden and Rudge were ordered to report what they considered would be a fair compensation for the expense incurred. They gave their opinion that he should be allowed the £50 salary and the £50 gratuity from the time he left the ship at Bantam till the time he arrived at Fort St. George. The Court concurred.

As he was now settled at the Fort, his wife petitioned the Court that she might be allowed to join him. The petition was granted; and she was given a free passage with her young son and her maid.[1] Samuel Tutchin died at Fort St. George on the 1st of June 1674, about a month before she started; so that when she arrived at the Fort at the end of the year, there was nothing to be done but to return by the next ship.[2] Her husband's estate was sent home in goods, and she was allowed to land them without paying the Company's dues.[3]

In the place of Thomas Bill, who either died or withdrew from his appointment in 1670, the Company appointed Thomas Whitehead[4] on a salary of £50, with a gratuity of £30, and allowed him £20 for the voyage. The difference in the amount of gratuity seems to point to a difference either in training or accomplishments or age. He was intended for the Bay; but on arrival at Fort St. George he was directed to go to Masulipatam, and arrived there in June 1672. Before leaving England he made an arrangement by which his salary was to be paid to relations in London.[5]

Up to 1670 the Company had only appointed men in Holy Orders to be Chaplains of their ships and settlements abroad. Between 1670 and 1675, for reasons which do not appear in the records, they adopted a policy of appointing ministers who were not in Holy Orders. Hounsill, Tutchin,

[1] *Court Minutes*, 18 Feb. 1673-4, and 30 Mar. 1674.
[2] Letter from the Fort, 20 Nov. 1674.
[3] *Court Minutes*, 18 Oct. 1676.
[4] Do. 29 Sept. 18 Oct. and 25 Oct. 1671.
[5] Do. 22 Nov. 1671.

and Warner,[1] were amongst those thus appointed. During the year 1674 they must have received complaints about some of these men; for on the 24 Dec. 1674 they wrote to Fort St. George thus:—

'We desire that you examine the carriage and demeanour of our Chaplains at the Coast and Bay[1]; and if it appear that any of them are scandalously vitious, that you cause them to be sent home with a copy of what is proved against them.'

In the same year and month they issued a commission to Mr. William Puckle to examine all matters at the Coast and Bay, just as they had commissioned Sir William Langhorne seven years before. One of his instructions was this:—

'That you carefully observe whether our orders for religious duties are followed; and if they are not, that you require all persons strictly to observe them; and if upon your admonition they comply not, it is our order that you take notice, and advise the Company of all such refractory persons, likewise of all others that are idle and debauched.'

The following account of the arrival of two of these ministers is taken from a letter from Sir William Langhorne to Mr. Cooke, one of the Directors, dated 10 Sept. 1673[2]:—

'We have here two Scotch ministers of the ships President and Sampson released by the Dutch, Mr. Warner, a very good preacher, and of a sober peaceable disposition, whom seeing it hath pleased God to disappoint my honourable employers' pious care in providing the Bay by the mortality of several sent out, I am thinking to let him proceed thither, Mr. Clavell and Council writing very earnestly for one, there being besides many children unbaptized.

'Mr. Pringle, the other, who I understand is not yet in orders, but Mr. Tutchin tells me would be content to undertake the schooling of the children here, which would be a very good work, and which I hope my honourable employers will not disapprove, seeing it may happily save them the trouble and charge of seeking and sending others out.'

[1] They referred to Tutchin, Whitehead and Darley.
[2] *Factory Records*, Miscellaneous, vol. 3, p. 141.

Patrick Warner was not sent to the Bay; he remained at Fort St. George; and when Samuel Tutchin fell ill of dysentery at the beginning of the following year he supplied his place, as the following letter shows [1]:—

'We have now to advise you of the decease of Mr. Samuel Tutchin our late Minister the 1st June after a four months' sickness of the flux, during which time Mr. Patrick Warner, late Minister of the ship President, so worthily supplied his want, and has ever since his landing behaved himself so vertuously and becoming his calling, that has emboldened us to entreat him to supply the place, which he has been pleased to undertake for two years' time, computing that to be sufficient to provide him a successor, when his inclinations are to return home; he is truly a person of those abilities piety and meekness, so becoming that holy calling, that we hope he will be a means of much good unto your people here, and wish we could prevail with him to make a longer abode amongst us; or if not that his successor may resemble him. In the meanwhile we make bold to recommend him to your favour to give him the same encouragement as to wages and salary as you have been pleased to allow his predecessors; who, though all men of great worth, yet truly since Mr. Newcomb of pious memory this gentleman, although of a different persuasion, comes nearest to him in all those so desirable qualities.'

Before the end of the year the Agent and Council of Fort St. George wrote again to the Directors on the same subject [2]:—

'Mr. Patrick Warner's succession on the decease of Mr. Tutching the 1st June with our intercession for his salary and gratuity, are at large in ours of the 20th August, which if you pleased to order him here for his better improvement would be a great help to him; of whose virtues and piety we are more and more confirmed.

'Mrs. Tutching has received the balance of her husband's account, and now returns by the ship ——.

'Mr. Darley proceeded for the Bay by ship Lancaster, where he was much wanted; and appearing to be a very discreet and learned man, will with God's blessing be a means

[1] *Factory Records*, 20 Aug. 1674.
[2] Do. 20 Nov. 1674.

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of much good there; your Agent having desired him to do his endeavour to quiet the differences amongst them.

'Mr. Pringle, the Scotch student, of the ship Sampson, returns by these ships, not well agreeing with these parts, being a man of most unquiet spirit.'

The Mr. Darley mentioned was appointed on the 11 Feb. 1673–4[1] on a salary of £50 with £50 gratuity and £20 for the voyage. In the Court Minutes he is called Joshua. In the Factory Records of 1676[2] he is called Josiah.

When Mr. Puckle, therefore, arrived in 1675, Patrick Warner was at Fort St. George, Thomas Whitehead at Masulipatam, and Josiah Darley at the Bay. He brought with him authority to inquire into the morals of the Company's servants and ministers; and to employ Mr. Brindley,[3] 'a minister which belonged to one of the ships for a schoolmaster, if he be fittly qualified, and continue sober,' fixing his remuneration at £30 per annum salary and £20 per annum gratuity. But Pringle had returned home before Puckle arrived.

Mr. Puckle[4] began his inspection tour at Masulipatam. No one seems to have had any grievance against Thomas Whitehead; but Whitehead himself had a grievance, and submitted it to the Council on Major Puckle's arrival. It was that he had not the same pre-eminence of place at table that the Chaplain of Fort St. George had, that is, to sit next to the second in Council. His complaint was considered,[5] and he was informed that the Council was one body and could not be separated, and that he must take his place next to the Council; the Council added 'this only is intended in our public capacity, which we doubt not but he will take in good part.'

He also claimed the same allowance for diet, house rent, candles and oil as the Fort St. George Chaplain had, with arrears since his arrival. This claim was allowed.

In the Masulipatam Consultations of the 20 Oct. 1675

[1] *Court Minutes*, 11 Feb. and 9 Mar. 1673–4.
[2] O.C. 4231.
[3] Pringle. Despatch was dated 23 Dec. 1674.
[4] Called in the *Factory Records* Major Puckle.
[5] *Factory Records*, Masulipatam Consultations, 28 July and 2 Aug. 1675.

his name appears again; he laid an information before the Council against a man named Thomas Davis for keeping a Punch and gaming house to the ruin of the young men of the settlement; for profanity, and for a personal affront. The Council sided with the Chaplain, and obliged Thomas Davis to take out a licence for his Punch house; and warned him against any repetition of the affront. There seems to have been nothing against Whitehead, though he had some enemy who supplied the Directors with ill reports.

In their annual letter dated the 24th Dec. 1675 the Directors replied to the Fort St. George letters of 1674 and again mentioned these ill reports:—

'We do grant your desire in behalf of Mr. Patrick Warner that he shall have[1] £50 per annum salary and £50 per annum gratuity to begin from the time of his entertainment with you, and to be paid him in the country, and are very glad you are so well supplied, and pray God to give a blessing to his labours. And having understood that Mr. Warner did not intend to remain so long in that country, we have entertained Mr. Richard Portman to be our Chaplain at the Fort at the rate—etc.—etc.—to be paid him in the country; and in case Mr. Warner shall desire to stay, you may with one of these supply Metchlepatam.'

'We have some intimation that Mr. Whitehead doth not behave himself as becomes his function, which we would have you to enquire into; and if you find him unfit for the employment and scandalous, that you send him home. But if his conversation be blameless, and that Mr. Warner stays in the Country, whereby the Fort and Metchlepatam will be supplied with two able men (that is, Warner and Portman), then let Mr. Whitehead be removed to the Fort to assist our Chaplain there in the duties of prayer and cathekising, and to be a schoolmaster also for the education of children.'

'Herewith you have a catalogue of such books as were desired by Mr. Portman to be provided, which we send as an addition to our library; and in regard we find every Chaplain we send as desirous of an addition, and that we have no perfect list here, we do require you to send us by the return of these ships a perfect catalogue of all our books both with you, at Metchlepatam and the Bay.

'We have been informed that it hath often been the

[1] *Court Minutes*, 3 Sept. 1675.

practise both at the Fort and also at subordinate factories by our servants and other English to be married, buried, and cause their children to be baptised by Romish Priests, which we look upon as a thing so scandalous to the Professors of the Reformed Religion, that we cannot but disallow of all such practises. And therefore we do order that you prohibit the same for the future in all our factories. And if after this notice given any shall dare to do the like, that you cause them to be sent home by the first ship; and take care to give notice of this to all subordinate factories, and send us an account thereof by the next opportunity. And if there be any married there that do not educate their children in the Protestant Religion let them also be sent home.'

'We formerly sent you some catechises and bibles to be dispersed amongst the youth and soldiers; when they are disposed of, we would know; and if you desire more we will send them.'

The above letter, written in December 1675, was being carried to India at the same time that a letter written a month later by Patrick Warner was being carried to England. The latter, which has been reproduced at length by Wheeler,[1] need not be reproduced here. It is the Chaplain's report to the Company of the evil lives of some—not by any means all, but some—of the residents at Fort St. George: 'I must bear witness for most of the young men, that they cannot, to the best of my knowledge, be accused of the former enormities.' He mentions with gratitude the civility he has received from the Governor and others of Council, and from all generally; but he laments that they are not more zealous; and regrets that the Governor refused to listen to any that would prevent his firing of great guns and volleys of small shot at the consecration of a popish church within the walls. Finally he announces his intention of going home with the next ships.

Richard Portman arrived on the 7th July 1676; and Warner went home in one of the August ships. This letter dated the 23rd July 1676 went by the same ship; it was a reply to the Directors' despatch of the previous December:—

'5. We return you our humble thanks in favour of Mr. P.

[1] *Madras in the Olden Time*, pp. 34–36.

Warner, his allowances of salary etc., and for supplying the place with Mr. Richard Portman; the former taking his passage with these ships.

'6. We do not hear any just cause of blame of Mr. Thomas Whitehead; however we have wrote to Metchlepatam to enquire and advise of any such thing. But surely it is here in India above all other places that ill will knows no bounds, neither of charity truth nor common honesty, but that if anyone be so affected toward another, he reckons his tongue his own, who or what shall contrôl it? We hope you will not think the worse of them that pretend to better principles; and wish the others were not so much encouraged.

'57 and 58. Mr. Darley has proceeded to the Bay etc.

'69. We make note of your order against the use of Romish priests in marrying, burying, baptizing etc., which to prevent it will be requisite that your factories be still supplied by Ministers in lawful ordinations, who will perform those duties as they should, which since Mr. Newcomb's decease, anno 1671, until now has not been so.'

This letter was written soon after Streynsham Master's arrival at the Fort, and seems to bear marks of his individuality. After its despatch he commenced his tour of inspection, of which he has left an interesting record in the form of a diary.[1] This diary gives a better idea of the daily life in a factory than any other existing record. Wherever he stayed the Council assembled for business 'after prayers, in which all who could be spared joined.' During August he was at Masulipatam, Madapollam, and Balasore. When he was at Madapollam, Robert Fleetwood, the chief of that subordinate agency died, leaving his affairs in great confusion. When he was at Masulipatam Thomas Whitehead died. This entry is dated August 12:—

'It having pleased God to take from us Mr. Thomas Whitehead, the Chaplain of this Factory, who died about half an hour since, and the Council sending to seal his things, Mr. John Heathfield the Surgeon brought his last will and testament—wherein he hath named Mr. John Fitzwilliams, Chaplain to the Bishop of Winchester, his executor, and the said Mr. Heathfield his overseer, with power to receive and

[1] *Factory Records*, Miscellaneous, vol. 14.

pay all debts and demands; whereupon the Council thought fit to hand his concerns to Mr. Heathfield, ordering a copy to be taken of his will, and entering it in the book directed to be kept by the Purser-General for a register of deceased men's wills and inventories, two copies of which to be sent yearly to Fort St. George, of which one copy to remain there, the other to be sent for England.'

Then next day:—

'This morning the corpse of Mr. Thomas Whitehead, the late Chaplain of the factory, was buried in the usual burying place in the English garden, which is about two miles out of the town, myself and most of the factory accompanying the same.'

On the 29th August Streynsham Master was at Balasore; he records on that day that 'Mr. Darley the Chaplain and myself agreed that the most convenient times for prayer would be at 7 o'clock in the morning and 8 at night.' Within a fortnight he recorded Mr. Darley's sad death by drowning. He headed the entry, 'On board the ketch Arrivall, Sept. 11, 1676.' He then proceeded to relate the cause of the misadventure. It appears that Darley was on board the Arrivall; and that Mr. Douglas the Surgeon of the Eagle sent for him to see Mr. Calloway who was very sick and on the point of death. Darley willingly went, and performed the last office for the sick man before he died. The party then went into the boat to return to the Arrival. By some unhappy accident the boat came in contact with a hawser and was cast athwart the stream; and as the stream was running very fast, the boat filled with water; Darley and another Englishman were drowned; Douglas and another Englishman were saved.

On the 17th Oct. 1676 Streynsham Master was at Cassimbazzar. On that day he records the death of Major William Puckle, and his burial 'in the garden'—a euphemistic, not to say beautiful old term for the factory burial grounds. Major Puckle was accorded a public funeral; the merchants and factors both of the English and Dutch factories were present; and the soldiers from the English factory fired the regulation three volleys over his grave.

On the 15th Dec. 1676 Master was back in Balasore. It appears from an entry on that date that the Church services were performed by three ministers from the ships at that time; but their names have not been preserved:—

'The Council, taking into consideration that the ministers of the ships have preached in this factory since the decease of Mr. Darley the Company's Chaplain upwards of three months, did think fit to gratify them for their pains therein, and ordered that Rs. 100 be delivered to the commanders to be divided amongst three ministers.'

When the Directors wrote their annual letter in December 1676 they replied to the letters of 1675, and sent the Agent a copy of Patrick Warner's letter. At this time Richard Portman was at Fort St. George and was the only Chaplain in the Agency.[1]

The Directors wrote as follows [2]:—

'When we require an account of you of our Chaplains on the Coast and Bay, you only tell us, if there be any scandal in them, it will be wrote us from Metchlepatam and the Bay, as if that were a discharge of your duty; when, as we have made all in those places subordinate to you, and you complain of contumacy in some of them, yet will not act your part to keep them in that due order.'

'Mr. Prindle [3] hath not made any clamour against you, of which you were so jealous, and we hope he had no cause.'

'Inclosed is a copy of a letter from Mr. Warner with the list therein mentioned, and we require you to take it seriously into examination; and if you find Mallory and Barnes guilty of what he alleges, to send them home, and that others be admonished, and such as will not be reclaimed that you proceed with them according to our Rules.'

'We note what you say of firing your guns upon the naming of a Church by the Papists; we cannot approve thereof, and do desire you to give as little encouragement and countenance to that Religion as they do to ours; and we would have you discourage and discountenance all of our nation that any ways incline to that profession.'

'We are well pleased at the good character Mr. Puckle gives of Mr. Whitehead, but do order that on Sabbath days in

[1] This included the Bay.

[2] Despatch to Fort St. George, 15 Dec. 1676.

[3] Pringle.

the afternoon, being he preaches not, that he catechise the youth and expound thereupon, and that all in our service be present at that exercise.'

'P.S.—We have entertained Mr. William Bedgeant to be our Chaplain at ——— etc. We design him for the Bay in regard Mr. Darley writes he would return by the next ships, and for that the Fort and Metchlepatam are supplied; yet we leave it to you to settle him where you find there is most want.'

'There being two useful treatises lately extant, the one touching the existence of God, the other against Popery, we have thought it fit to send ten of the one and four of the other' etc.

Presumably the books were intended for the various factory libraries. As for Mr. Bedgeant there is no factory or other evidence that he ever reached Hugli. As to Mr. Warner's letter, it received no more attention than was due to it. It was neither the first nor the last of its kind. As long as the Directors encouraged their servants to write ill reports of one another home there was a supply. Streynsham Master, Elihu Yale, and several other excellent men fell a victim to them. From the very beginning the Directors ought to have destroyed the letters and discouraged in every way the odious system. The 1667 Rules, sometimes known as the Company's Ten Commandments, were quite sufficient to stop local ill-doing, if there was any, and to maintain the character of the settlements.

Before leaving Fort St. George, Patrick Warner turned his estate into goods and sent it home in that way in the Company's ships. When it arrived in 1677 he asked the Company to allow him to land the goods duty free; they deliberated; this is the entry in the Minute Book[1]:—

'On reading a representation from Mr. Patrick Warner, late Chaplain at Fort St. George, praying consideration may be had of his present condition with respect to the prohibited goods by him brought home, the Court were pleased to allow him a gratuity of £20 for his service in India, he having had no imprest at his going out; to discharge the Romals from stated damages; and it is referred to the Committee for private

[1] *Court Minutes*, 3 Oct. 1677.

trade to direct the delivery of his other goods, he paying what is due.'

They allowed him to have the Romals (kerchiefs) free of duty, but made him pay for the rest of the consignment.

On the 12th Sept. 1677[1] the Directors had before them the application of Mr. Evans, Curate of Thistleworth, to be employed as a Chaplain in India. He was recommended by Sir Joseph Ashe. The application leads one to conclude that William Bedgeant withdrew from his appointment. If he had started in one of the February ships, there would not have been time for the Company to hear on the 12th September either of his death or resignation. The probability is that he did not go. John Evans was appointed on the 2 Nov. 1677[1] on £50 salary with £50 gratuity subject to the usual conditions, both to begin on his sailing from Gravesend; and they gave him £20 for provisions on the voyage.

At the end of the year 1677[2] the Directors wrote to Fort St. George in reply to the 1676 letters; they advised the despatch of 100 Bibles and 200 catechisms. They expressed their desire that the children living in the Fort should be catechised every Sunday afternoon, and that a present of two pagodas should be given to each of them for their encouragement when they were able to repeat the Catechism correctly. In the Consultation Book of the Fort St. George Council under date 12 Dec. 1678 there is this entry:—'There being nine boys which have repeated the Catechism by heart in the Chapel upon the Lord's Day, it is ordered that two rupees be given to each of them for their encouragement according to the Honourable Company's order.' There is a similar entry on the 26 April 1680.

In the same despatch the Directors expressed their regret at the death of Major Puckle, and 'of our Ministers[3] and others that you name to us.' They announced the appointment of Mr. John Evans for the Bay.

'We have entertained Mr. John Evans to serve as Chaplain in your Agency, etc. . . . whom we order to be sent

[1] *Court Minutes.* [2] Despatch, 12 Dec. 1677.
[3] Thomas Whitehead and Josiah Darley.

down into the Bay; but if it shall have pleased God to deprive you of Mr. Portman, you may detain him with you, and we pray God to give a blessing to his labours.'

Evans arrived at Fort St. George in June 1678; and was sent on the following month to Hugli with a letter from the Agent and Council to the Chief and Council at the Bay[1]:—

'Mr. John Evans whom the Hon. Company have entertained as Chaplain to serve in the Agency . . . went forward to you upon the ship Williamson; and to prevent any disputes in precedency which sometimes hath happened between the Chaplains and others, we have thought fit to appoint that the Chaplains do take place next after the Chiefs of the subordinate factories upon all occasions and in all places whatsoever.'

The ship called at Balasore where Richard Trenchfield was chief, and proceeded to Hugli on the 22 August.[2] It must have been on this occasion that he met Trenchfield's sister or Trenchfield's wife's sister, whom he married in February 1678–9.[3] He had two children by her; but both died.[4] John Byam of the Company's service married a sister of hers; so that Trenchfield, Byam and Evans were brothers-in-law; it was with their assistance that Evans engaged in trade in the Company's commodities, and incurred the Company's grave displeasure.

At the close of this year 1678 the Company appointed Mr. Richard Elliot to be a Chaplain on the Coast.[5] They wrote to Fort St. George about him on the 3 January 1678–9 thus:—

'We have entertained Mr. Richard Elliot to be our Chaplain, of whom we have received a very satisfying character of his learning abilities and pious conversation, etc. . . . . You are to settle him at Metchlepatam, or elsewhere where you judge there must be most want, and he most serviceable.'

[1] *Factory Records*, O.C. 4470, dated 8 Aug. 1678.
[2] *Factory Records*, O.C. 4483, dated 22 Aug. 1678.
[3] *Factory Records*, O.C. 4573, dated 6 Feb. 1678–9.
[4] See Hyde's *Parochial Annals of Bengal*, pp. 4–13, for an exhaustive account of Evans. Frances Glynne must have been a second wife.
[5] *Court Minutes*, 4 Oct., 6 Nov. and 18 Nov. 1678.

Elliot arrived in July 1679. He accompanied the Agent, Streynsham Master, in his tour of the subordinate factories on the Coast and in the Bay in that year [1]; and on his return was sent to Masulipatam where he remained till the end of 1680.

A few gleanings of events happening in other factories at this period are interesting. It will be remembered that Mr. Robert Fleetwood, the Chief of Madapollam, died in the year 1676. He was in debt to the Company, to the native merchants, and to others. Some of the native creditors made a raid upon his property and helped themselves; the Chief and Council of Masulipatam thereupon stepped in and protected what was left in the interest of the Company. This interesting extract from the Madapollam Consultation Book [2] shows what became of the widow:—

'Thursday 16 May 1678. Mrs. Margery Fleetwood, the relict of Mr. Robert Fleetwood, deceased, was joined in matrimony with Mr. John Heathfield, Chirurgeon, of this Factory, whom he received in her shift.'

It is necessary to explain that there was at this period a popular belief that if a man married a widow in the ordinary way he took upon himself the liabilities of her first husband; but that if she divested herself of everything connected with her first husband, her second husband could receive her without being liable for any of her first husband's debts. So Mrs. Margery Fleetwood turned her back upon her household property and deserted her two houses and was received by John Heathfield free of liability. Four days afterwards there was a sale of the deserted property; and the proceeds were brought into the Company's cash to Robert Fleetwood's credit. Heathfield bought a good quantity of the furniture, besides two slave wenches and a slave boy.

In the Cassimbazzar Consultation Book [3] there is an entry on the 29 Sept. 1678 showing that Mr. Walter Clavell the Chief had a son baptised on that day by Mr.

[1] Hyde's *Parochial Annals of Bengal*, pp. 7–10.
[2] *Factory Records*, Masulipatam, vol. 2.
[3] Do. Kasimbazar, vol. 1.

Samuel Epes, Minister of the ship Society. John Evans had arrived and had charge of all the subordinate factories at the mouth of the Hugli; but he could not be everywhere at once. The presence of an occasional ship's Minister was a boon to the Company's servants.

In the Metchlepatam Consultation Book there was entered on the 31st March 1678 a list of books in the factory library. There were 73 in all. With very few exceptions the books were theological.

The following entries eloquently speak for themselves, the incidents being greatly to the credit of all the English merchants concerned. It must be explained that Masulipatam was in the Kingdom of Golcondah, and that both the Dutch and English Companies had established themselves and their factories there with the King's permission. His Highness was in 1678 making a tour of inspection of his dominions :—

'Sunday 8 Dec. 1678. This morning Shaw[1] Raza sent to desire license from Mr. Christopher Hatton[2] to come and see the manner of our religion and worship, having a great curiosity to see it; which was thought requisite to be granted, and a seat was prepared for him; he accordingly came and stayed all the time of divine service, and till sermon was read; observing with much attention the performance thereof, wherewith he seemed to be pleased; and about a quarter of an hour after it was finished, departed.'

'12 Dec. 1678. Shaw Raza acquainted the King that he had been on Sunday last at the English Church, and there saw the manner of their worship and devotion; which relation made the King desirous likewise to see the same. Whereupon he sent notice to the Chief and Council that on Sunday next he would come to the Factory to that purpose. Order was therefore given to prepare a seat for His Majesty, and that all things might be as decently and conveniently made ready for his reception as the time would permit.'

'Sunday 15 Dec. 1678. This morning according to the advice given on the 12th instant the King came to the Factory attended by Shaw Raza and some few of his principal servants, who was conducted by the Chief etc. into the hall,

[1] Shah Raza was one of the principal ministers of the King.
[2] The Chief of the English Factory.

the place appointed for the performance of divine service, where he was pleased to stay till it was done; observing heedfully the manner thereof; and taking notice that the women made use of books, desired to be satisfied whether they could read; and calling for the Chief's Bible and Common Prayer Book gave them into the hands of Mistress Field and Madam Mainwaring,[1] who according to his desire read before them.

'The Chief and Council had ordered to be made ready six pieces of fine broadcloth to be presented to his Majesty; wherewith being acquainted, he would not by any means accept thereof, desiring them to forbear, and that he came to gratify his curiosity and not to put them to any expense; that the trouble of preparation made to receive him was sufficient.

'After his departure he went to the Dutch Factory (who had made preparation in like manner, and had been very busy to prevent us of the honour of the King's first coming hither) where after their prayers were ended they entertained him with music and dancing wenches belonging to their Chief's lady in the very place where just before they had performed their devotions.'

An extract from one of the Company's letters to Suratt at this period shows that even then the Company had some sense of Christian obligation towards those dependent upon them.[2] Whilst approving of the reported purchase of 100 blacks, the Company directed that they were 'to be taught; and after three years' service as Christians, to be set free.'

In December 1670 the Company wrote a similar letter to St. Helena, directing that the negro slaves there were to be carefully instructed in the knowledge of Jesus Christ; that after baptism they were to serve seven years and no longer, and then to be free planters. The system of Christian instruction for their heathen subordinates was a new policy; it was apparently carried out by the Company of their own free will and without any pressure from outside.

Equally new was the policy of toleration for those of other

[1] The difference of honorific is to be noticed: Madam Mainwaring was the wife of a member of the Masulipatam Council; Mistress Field was the young wife of a young merchant; she was the daughter of Robert and Margery Fleetwood.

[2] *Home Series*, Miscellaneous, vol. 34, p. 41.

religions; but with certain limitations the Company deliberately pursued it. The acquisition of territory on the Coromandel Coast in 1640, and on the Bombay coast in 1660, placed the Company in a new position as rulers over persons of various religions, which it took them some time to understand. The civil war in England had carried conviction to many that toleration of religious views was better than civil strife. When the East India Company became the ruler over many Hindus, Muhammedans and Roman Catholic Christians it became necessary to declare their religious policy towards their new subjects. They wrote to Suratt[1] directing the President to choose a person fit for the government of their new settlement at Bombay, 'to whom give special instructions to promote the worship of God, according to His holy word and our Christian profession, amongst our own people and those that shall be invited to embrace the same; and yet not to persecute and disturb those that shall be of different apprehensions of any other nature.'

Similar instructions were sent to Fort St. George, and were referred to in the annual letter of the following year[2]:—'in our former instructions we advised you chiefly to encourage the Protestant Religion, and to indulge those that dissented therefrom'; these were important steps in the direction of toleration at a time when the public mind was inflamed in England against Roman Catholics on the one hand and Protestant dissenters on the other. But at the same time the Company were more than alive to the danger of familiarity with Romanism; and they added this:—

> 'We understand that your overmuch familiarity with the Portugal and French Padres becomes a great snare to our factors and servants; for they are a very great means to lead them into all manner of debauchery and disorder, which we desire you for the future to take care to prevent.'

The Agent and Council replied that persuasion was better than persecution, and that perhaps the Portuguese and French Padres might be persuaded to embrace the Protestant religion,

[1] Despatch, 24 August, 1668. [2] Do. 7 December, 1669.

and so become instruments to promote the glory of God. The Directors replied[1]:

'As to what you write concerning the Padres we heartily wish that you would use means to bring them over to the Protestant religion, that they might then (as you say) become instruments to promote the glory of God and the good of those people; which if you can obtain we would have you give them all reasonable encouragement; but if they remain in their former way, that then you indulge them in their continuance there; but chiefly to encourage the Protestant religion; and to the same effect we wrote you last year.'

What troubled the Company was that the children of Englishmen, soldiers and civilians, were being brought up as Roman Catholics. They were willing to extend toleration and indulgence to those of Portuguese birth; they regarded it only as natural that a Portuguese or a Frenchman should be a Roman Catholic; but it seemed equally natural that the child of an Englishman should be brought up in the faith of an Englishman—in what they called the Protestant Religion, meaning, thereby, the religion of England's Church. They wrote to their Agent at Fort St. George in February 1670–1:—

'And now we are speaking of this subject we must acquaint you that we have great complaints that English children, especially children of those who have married Portuguese women, are educated and brought up in the Popish Religion, which we cannot allow of; and therefore require you to take special care to prevent it; and if there be any such, send us a list of the names of the parents and children, for as we formerly writ you, we do but permit and suffer those of the Romish Religion; but that our endeavours are (as we hold it our duty) to encourage the Protestant Religion.'

The Agent represented the difficulty of carrying out the wishes of the Board; the Portuguese mothers, both castiçoes and mestiçoes,[2] claimed to do with their children as they pleased; some of them were not married; what could the fathers do against their wishes? And so the Directors wrote once more[3]:—

[1] Despatch, 29 November, 1670. [2] Both pure and mixed blood.
[3] Despatch, 13 Dec. 1672.

'Though you say it is difficult to follow our orders in the educating of children of English in the Protestant Religion, yet they being at the dispose of their fathers, you must as they grow up do your utmost endeavours that they be brought up therein.'

After consultation both at home and at Fort St. George the Directors wrote [1] and authorised the Council to give two pagodas to each boy of such marriages when he could say the Catechism by heart in the chapel on the Lord's day. The girls are not mentioned; which leads one to suppose that the Company compromised the matter with the mothers and their parents by allowing the girls to go the way of their mothers. Nine boys received the gratuity in 1678, and sixteen in 1680.[2]

Though there is this reference to the chapel at this period, the East India Company had built neither Church nor chapel in any of their factories. Divine service was regularly held in all of them, not only weekly but daily; but it was held in a room in the factory house set apart for that purpose. This sufficed for the day of small things; but that day was already drawing to a close.

[1] Despatch, 12 Dec. 1677, para. 29.
[2] Consultations, 12 Dec. 1678 and 26 April 1680.

CHAPTER IV

STREYNSHAM MASTER AND THE BUILDING OF ST. MARY'S CHURCH

In the year 1677 the Honourable Company in London selected Mr. Streynsham Master, one of its own servants in the East, to succeed Sir William Langhorne as 'Agent of all our affairs on the Coast of Choromandell, Governor and Commander in Chief of Fort St. George and the town of Madraspatam, and of all the forces which now are or shall be employed in our service on the Coast' etc. In their commission they laid upon him certain obligations, the principal of which were :—

1. To observe all orders.
2. To observe and to see observed the printed rules of conduct dated the 18th Dec. 1667.[1]
3. To rule impartially and to do justice.

Streynsham Master's service had been principally at Suratt, where he had risen to be a Member of Council. In January 1676–7 he was promoted to be second of Council at Fort St. George, with the right of succession to the office of Governor, to which a year later he succeeded. His arrival marks an epoch in the civil and ecclesiastical history of the Presidency; for he was a man of strong personality and independent judgment; and he was as zealous in the cause of the Church as he was loyal in the cause of the State.

When he was at Suratt in 1675 a movement was set on foot by the merchants and factors there to build a Church. There can be very little doubt, if one may judge from his subsequent action at Fort St. George, that Master took a prominent part in this effort. The President and Council at Suratt asked the Company to assist in the undertaking; and

[1] See *Madras in the Olden Time*, Appendix, Nos. ii. and iii.

this they promised to do to the extent of Rs. 4000. They wrote on the 7th March 1676;—

'As to the building of a Church we are glad to understand the ready inclination of our servants and others thereunto; and as we promised so are we willing to allow 4000 rupees towards it, but shall not pass it upon our account till the Church is finished; and though we have a great confidence in our Chaplains, yet we would have you take particular care herein, that it may be built convenient and serviceable and not for ostentation.'

The intention of building a Church at Suratt was not carried out. It was becoming evident to the Factors and Merchants there that Bombay would ultimately supplant Suratt. Bombay was a possession, and had the same kind of advantage over Suratt as Fort St. George had over Masulipatam. Besides this Bombay possessed a great harbour. The manifest success of Fort St. George as a trading centre had won over the Directors to the policy of having settlements of their own for trading purposes. At Suratt itself the Merchants must have felt that it was only a question of time when the relative positions of Suratt and Bombay would be reversed, and the former made subordinate to the latter. And so, when Streynsham Master was promoted to Fort St. George at the end of the year 1676, the President and Council at Suratt held their hands and let the Church building scheme drop. Two years later in consequence of a falling off in trade, by which the receipts barely exceeded the necessary high expenses of the Factory, that which was anticipated actually came to pass, and Suratt was reduced from a Presidency to an Agency in favour of Bombay; and nothing further appears in the records regarding the proposed Church. Thus St. Mary's, Fort St. George, narrowly escaped not being the first English Church in the East Indies.

Before Master left Suratt, the President and Council issued an order banishing all vagabond pretended padres. One cannot help feeling that the order, which was approved by the Directors in their letter to Suratt dated the 15th March 1677, bears the stamp of Master's influence. It has been

stated[1] that some of the Dissenting Ministers, who were ejected from the rectories and vicarages of England at the Restoration, were appointed ministers to the English Factories at various places on the continent, in the East Indies, and in the plantations of America. There had been a few of this kind at Fort St. George, and one at the subordinate factories in the Bay; but they had kept from politics and religious differences, and as a rule had used the Prayer Book; so that there was little decided objection to them. At Suratt it seems to have been different.

At the time Streynsham Master was appointed Governor of Fort St. George, Josiah Child was exercising a preponderating influence in the Council of the East India Company. It was inevitable that two such masterful men should at some time or another, sooner or later, come into conflict. There was a skirmish over the expenditure of the local Charity Fund. The Directors wrote on the 12th December 1677:—

'As to money raised by you for charity by way of fines or otherwise we would have an account kept thereof and yearly sent us; and if there be any poor there that have been in our service, and through age or otherwise rendered incapable of getting a livelihood, or the widdows or children of such, let them be relieved therewith.'

A year later the Governor and Council of Fort St. George replied to this paragraph that they would rather manage their charities in their own way.

On the 3rd December 1679 the Company replied as follows:—

'In your next paragraph you say that if money be given for charitable uses, the givers desire to dispose thereof, and argue a little odly (to give it the modestest expression we can) that you are in a way of raising fines, and that you will distribute it to the most necessitous etc., which we hope you will, and are content you should.'

As time went on relations became more and more strained. Master was certainly the nominee and the servant of the Company; but he was also the Ruler over many thousands, and realised the importance and the dignity of his

[1] Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, page 309 (ed. 1862).

position. Besides being a capable Governor, he was a large-hearted and large-minded man, and was able to settle some important points of domestic policy which had been shirked by his predecessors. He understood the Oriental character, and how to deal with it. He was not afraid of the responsibility of acting when the right time came. And he was one of those men, born to command, whom others naturally and without question obey. From the time that the Fort was built and garrisoned the English merchants there had had before them the Roman Catholic question. Rightly or wrongly the existence of Roman Catholics was by English people esteemed to be a political danger to the State. They were looked upon, not as persons exercising their religion according to the dictates of their conscience in their own way, but as persons banded together for the subversion of political and religious liberty. The Directors always wrote of them as if this notion were uppermost in their minds; and it may be added that the Roman Catholics had no one but themselves to thank for this very general opinion. For many years the English minority at Fort St. George had felt the difficulty of enforcing any regulation against them; for the Roman Catholics formed the bulk of the military force at their disposal; and this force, it was felt, could not safely be weakened. No Agent or President before Master had cared to run the risk.

In the year 1678 it was patent to all the inhabitants that there were more Roman Catholic priests in the settlement than were required by the number of Portuguese settlers; and that the newcomers were not French Capuchins such as the Company had allowed from the time the Fort was built, but were of the Portuguese nation, owing allegiance to the Bishop of St. Thoma and to the Archbishop of Goa. At this early period political considerations made it wise and expedient to exclude Portuguese influence from the Fort, and to employ French religious teachers for the Roman Catholic inhabitants; just as seventy years later similar considerations made an exactly opposite policy necessary. The Council considered the danger of the increase and resolved [1]:—

[1] Consultations, 4 April 1678.

'That in regard the town is very much pestered with Portuguese Popish priests more than in former times, it having always been the care of the first Agents in this place not to suffer those sorts of priests to intermeddle, or to admit them to have anything to do in this town, but wholly left the government of the Roman Church to the two French Capuchin friars Ephraim and Zenon,—(for whom the Church was first licensed to be built),—men that have ever behaved themselves with all due respect to the government of the place and the English interest; it is therefore thought fit that convenient opportunity be taken by degrees, as they shall give occasion through ill behaviour, to remove some of the Portuguese priests out of the town, that there may not remain more than is necessary to content the inhabitants of that nation and religion, and not such a number as will be a charge and burden to them, and breed disturbance in the town.'

In the year 1680 a case of intermarriage occurred, the like of which had not occurred before. One of the English free merchants named Brewster married a Roman Catholic Portuguese woman, the widow of an Englishman named Barrick; and the marriage was solemnised by one of the Portuguese priests. The fact of the marriage was soon known, and was at once taken into consideration by the Council.[1] It was reported that the Portuguese priest had fled the jurisdiction of the Council to avoid punishment 'which shall be inflicted if he comes back.' The question was whether it consisted with our religion and interest to admit of such marriages; and it was resolved :—

'1. That it is not against the law of God in Holy Scripture, nor the laws of England, and hath frequently been practised in England for Protestants to marry Roman Catholics.

'2. That the Roman Catholics of this place, being the offspring of foreign nations, chiefly Portuguese, and born out of England, and not liable to the laws of England provided against Roman Catholics, they always owning themselves vassals to the King of Portugal.

'3. That it is our interest to allow of marriages with them, especially our men with their women, to prevent sin; and in regard there is not English women enough for the men, and the common soldiers cannot maintain English women and

[1] Consultations, 22 March 1680.

children with their pay as well as they can the women of the country, who are not so expensive and not less modest than our ordinary or common people are; and in the matter of marriages we have already gained by them many hopeful children brought up in the Protestant religion.

'And it is also further to be remembered that these Roman Catholics of the Portuguese nation were invited hither upon our first settlement; ground was given them to build upon; a Church and French priests were allowed to encourage them to come in and inhabit here; and they have been loyal and serviceable in the defence of the place in time of war, and are a great security to us on that account. Moreover our greatest income arises from the customs upon their commerce.'

With these resolutions the matter rested for three days. The Company had more than once expressed a wish that the children of the English soldiers by their Portuguese wives should be brought up in what they called the Protestant religion. It was one thing to make regulations of that kind for the civil and military servants of the Company; but it was another thing to make them for the free merchants of the settlement. The matter required consideration. There can be no doubt that the opinions of the free merchants were consulted during the three days before the final resolution was arrived at; and that it was found that the projected resolution was in accordance with the general sentiment. On the third day[1] the two Chaplains, Portman and Elliott, were sent for by the Council; and after some discussion it was resolved and ordered:—

'That upon the marriage of a Protestant with a Roman Catholic, both the parties to be married shall solemnly promise before one of the Chaplains of the place, by themselves or some for them, before the banns shall be published, and also in the chapel or Church by themselves in person, upon the day of marriage and before the parties shall be married, that all the children by them begotten and borne shall be brought up in the Protestant religion; and herein due care shall always be taken by the overseers of the orphans and the poor.'[2]

[1] Consultations, 25 March 1680.

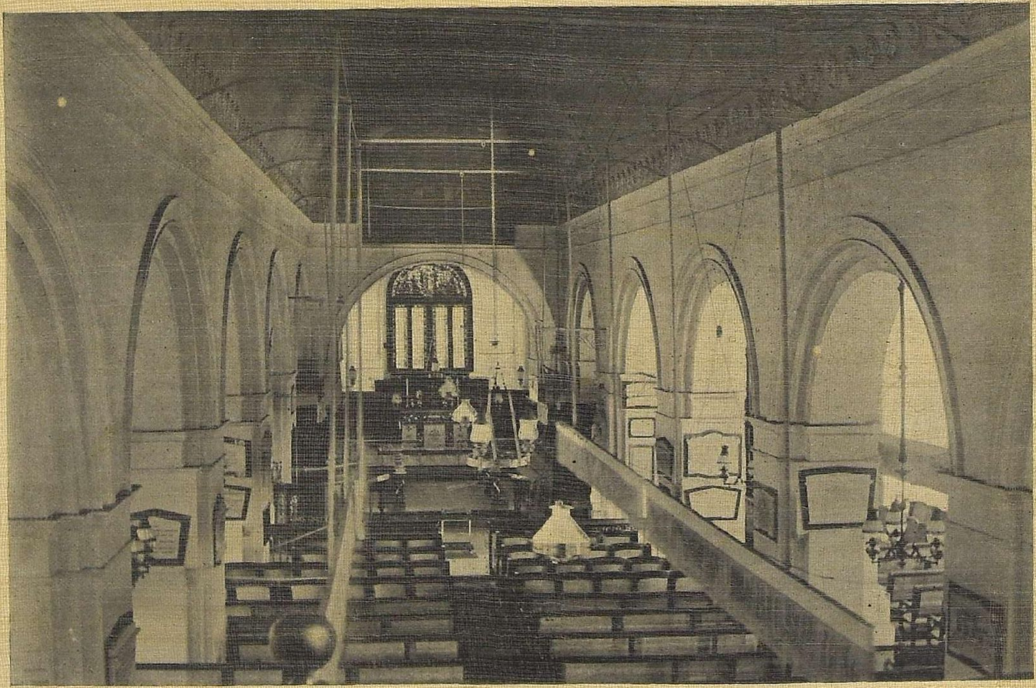
[2] This resolution was passed about six months before the institution of Churchwardens.

Another matter of ecclesiastical importance carried out by Streynsham Master was the re-issue of the Company's 1667 rules of conduct for all the European inhabitants of their factories. He put the rules in force in the various subordinate factories on the Coast and in the Bay during his tour of 1676, and enforced them on his second tour of 1679. They were to be read out twice a year in Church or Chapel. He also promulgated definite rules for the military establishment, which were to be read out at the head of the garrison once a month.[1]

But the most important of all his acts, with which we are concerned at present, was the building of St. Mary's Church within the walls of the Fort. Here, again, as far as one can judge from the records, Streynsham Master and his Council—consisting of Joseph Hynmers, John Bridger, Timothy Wilkes, and John Nicks—proceeded on their own initiative, and decided on the building of it, the plan of it, and arranged in the Settlement for the cost of it, without consulting the Company or asking their assistance. It was this spirit of independence, shown on so many occasions, that was such an offence to the Directors in London, and especially to Josiah Child the masterful Governor of the Company. Streynsham Master did not disobey orders; he acted without them; and when he wrote his official letters, he wrote more as an equal than as a subordinate. Child resented this; he looked upon it as presumption; he pictured Master to himself as puffed up with pride; and when he wrote to his successor he referred to Streynsham Master as too big for his position. By the end of 1680 Child had decided, and the Directors had agreed with him—for he led the Directors just as Master led his Council—that a change of Agents was necessary; he accused him of pursuing private trade; and so on 3rd July 1681 he was superseded by Mr. William Gyfford.

The year before his supersession he completed the Church, and it remains a lasting monument of his administration. The work of excavating was begun on Lady Day 1678. When the Church was finished it was consecrated to God's service, and named the Church of St. Mary in honour of the

[1] *Madras in the Olden Time*, Appendix, No. iv.



INTERIOR OF ST. MARY'S, FORT ST. GEORGE.
From the West Gallery, showing the Roof.

Blessed Virgin on whose Annunciation Day the work had been commenced. There is nothing in the records to show who the designer was; but it is possible to give more than a shrewd guess; for Edward Fowle, the Master Gunner, was present in the Fort at the time, building the northern curtain of the Fort; and it is known how capable a builder and designer he was, and how he was afterwards chosen for this reason to design and build the Fort at Bencoolen.[1] Most probably the credit of designing and building the Church belongs to him; and as it is both well proportioned and strongly built the credit is considerable. The building consisted of a nave and two aisles; the nave extended about 12 feet further eastward than the aisles, the extension forming the sanctuary. West of the nave was the tower and spire. The outside walls of the aisles are 4 feet thick; the inner walls separating the nave from the aisles are 3 feet thick; over the nave and aisles are built three semicircular masses of brickwork, 2 feet thick, forming bomb-proof roofs of solid masonry. The builders had to think of possible contingencies such as cyclones and sieges, and built accordingly. No wood was used except for the doors and windows. Some slight additions were made during the 19th century; a vestry was built at the east end of each of the aisles, with flat masonry roofs supported by wooden beams; and the sanctuary was extended about 12 feet eastward for the formation of a choir; otherwise the building remains as it originally was, and is a monument of good workmanship. The inside length of the nave was originally 86 feet, and the inside breadth was 56 feet. At the west end of the nave was a spacious gallery, resting on carved teakwood pillars, and protected by a carved teakwood balustrade of curious and excellent workmanship. The gallery was presumably intended for the organ and the musicians; but it was not till 1687 that an organ was procured. The period when it was built was the period of the square box pew. By the time the ground space had been divided between the officials of the Company, the free merchants of importance, the officers of the garrison and the officers of the ships in harbour, there was not much left for

[1] *History of Fort St. George*, p. 49.

the soldiers and the general inhabitants of the Fort. It is impossible to say how many persons the Church, under the old circumstances, was capable of seating. Under the modern conditions of open parallel sittings, the building can accommodate about 500 persons.[1]

In 1679 application was made to the Lord Bishop of London for the consecration of the Church. There is no record of this in the Consultation Books, nor in the letters home from Fort St. George to the Company, nor in the despatches from the Company to the Council. The inference is that application was made direct to the Bishop; and if this inference is correct, it was a highly characteristic action on the part of Mr. Streynsham Master. The application placed the Bishop of London in a difficulty. All the world outside England was for ecclesiastical purposes in his Diocese; Fort St. George was in a distant corner of that outside world; and so his jurisdiction extended to Fort St. George. But who was Richard Portman? It was easily discoverable that he was a Master of Arts of Oxford University, and that he was a rightly ordained Priest; but he was not licensed to officiate in the Diocese of London; and consequently was not of standing to perform any ecclesiastical function in the Diocese. First of all, then, he must be given authority to act; he must be licensed; and this involved the subscription of three oaths which all licensed priests have to take before their licence is delivered to them. Accordingly the Bishop of London issued a Commission to Streynsham Master to administer the oaths to the Chaplain. He then issued a Commission to Richard Portman to consecrate the Church, and licensed him to officiate in it. The instrument of consecration was then prepared; and all the papers, accompanied by minute instructions how to proceed at every step, were forwarded to Streynsham Master. The documents arrived in the month of October 1680 with the ships of that season. On the 28th of the same month—St. Simon and St. Jude's Day—the English inhabitants of the settlement assembled in the Church; the Governor and the Members of Council proceeded

[1] At the Queen's Jubilee service in 1897 seats were found for 525 adult persons, of whom about 450 were officers and men of the garrison.

THE SANCTUARY OF ST. MARY'S, FORT ST. GEORGE.

thither in state with their official roundels carried over them; Richard Portman took the oaths, received his commission to consecrate and his licence to officiate, and consecrated the Church. The Bishop of London's commission to Mr. Streynsham Master cannot be found; the other documents were as follows;—

'A.[1] *Instructions for speeding the Commission.*

'1. The oaths of allegiance and supremacy are to be administered to Mr. Portman who must take them kneeling, laying his hand upon the Holy Evangel.

'2. He must subscribe the three articles (first writing the day of the month and the year of his subscription) in these words, viz.

'Ego Richardus Portman, Clericus, jam admittendus ad inserviendum curam animarum apud Madraspatam in partibus Indiæ Orientalis, tribus his suprascriptis Articulis et singulis in eisdem contentis, lubens et ex animo subscribo.

'To this he must subscribe his name.

'3. He must subscribe the declaration (having first written the day of the month and the year over his subscription) in these words, viz.

'Renuntiavi pacto sive fœderi solemni [2] juxta statutum in ea parte editum.

'And to this also he must subscribe his name.

'4. This done his license must be given to him; and the Commissioner must certify all this to the Bishop, which he may do by inserting the day of the month and the year in the blank I[3] left in the form of the certificate herewith also sent, and subscribing his name, and setting his seal thereto.'

'B.[4] *The Three Articles.*

'1. That the King's Majestie under God hath and ought to have the Soveraignty, and Rule over all manner of Persons borne within His Realms, Dominions and Countrys, of what

[1] *St. Mary's Church Records.*
[2] The Solemn League and Covenant.
[3] The Vicar General and Official Principal.
[4] *St. Mary's Church Records.*

state, either Ecclesiasticall or Temporal, soever they bee; and that noe forrain Power, Prelate, State or Potentate hath or ought to have any Power, Superiority, Pre-eminence or Authority, Ecclesiastical or Spirituall, within His Majestie's said Realms, Dominions and Countrys.

'2. That the Book of Common Prayer and of ordeyning Bishops Priests and Deacons, conteyneth in it nothing contrary to the word of God, and that the same may lawfully be used, and that he himselfe will use the forme prescribed in the said Booke in Public Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, and none other.

'3. That he alloweth the Booke of Articles of Religion agreed upon by the Archbishops and Bishops of both Provinces and the whole Clergy in ye Convocation holden at London in the year of our Lord God 1562, and sett forth by lawfull authority, And that he acknowledgeth all and every the articles therein conteined, being in number 39, besides the ratification, to be agreable to the word of God.

'Vicesimo Octavo die Octobris Anno Dom. Milesimo Sexcentesimo Octogesimo, Ego Richardus Portman, Clericus, etc. as in A.

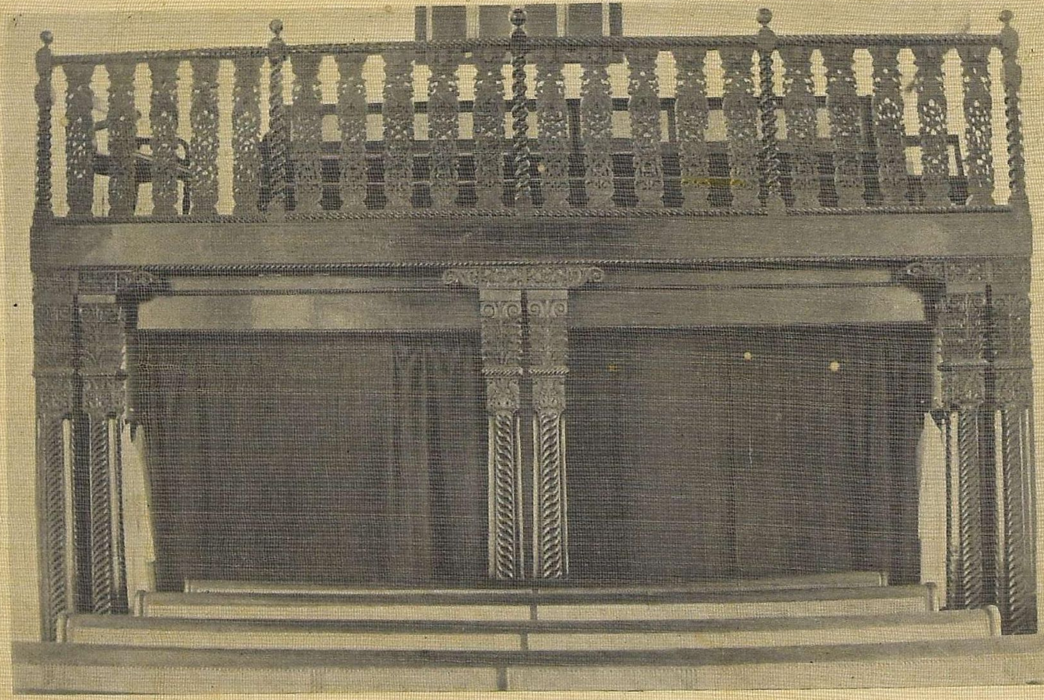
(Signed) 'RICHARD PORTMAN.'

'C.[1] *Certificate of Streynsham Master.*

'Reverendo in Christo patri et domino Domino Henrico, permissione divina London' Episcopo, vestrove Vicario in spiritualibus Generali et Officiali principali legitime constituto ejusve Surrogato aut alii judici in hac parte competenti cuicunque, vester humilis et devotus Streynshamus Master, Armiger, Agens pro Honorabili Societate sive Communitate Mercatorum Londinensium, apud Indos Orientales missus, et Gubernator Castri Sancti Georgii, Commissarius vester in hac parte, legitime authorizatus, omnimodam reverentiam et obedientiam tanto Reverendo patri debitas et condignas Literas vestras Commissionales (præsentibus annexas) nuper cum eâ (qua decuit) Reverentiâ humiliter recepimus exequend.[2]:—

'Cujus vigore pariter et authoritate Richardo Portman, Clerico (vicesimo octavo die mensis Octobris Anno Domini Millesimo Sexcentesimo Octogesimo coram nobis personaliter comparen'[3]) Juramenta Allegiantiæ et Supremitatis Regiæ

[1] From the Registry of the Bishop of London.
[2] 'Exsequendas.'
[3] Equivalent to 'apparenti.'



THE GALLERY IN ST. MARY'S, FORT ST. GEORGE.

Majestatis detulimus, Idemque Richardus Portman eodem die in præsentiâ nostrâ tribus articulis, dictis Literis vestris Commissionalibus annexis, manu suâ propriâ subscripsit, ac pacto sive federi solemni renuntiavit;[1] et sic Literas vestras Commissionales quantum in Nobis et diligenter executi fuimus. In cujus rei Testimonium manum et sigillum nostrum ad arma præsentibus apposuimus. Dat. vicesimo Octavo die mensis Decembris Anno Domini Millesimo Sexcentesimo Octogesimo.

(Signed) 'STREYNSHAM MASTER.'

After taking the oaths and making the required declaration Richard Portman received his licence to officiate in the Church, which by Canon 36 was indispensably necessary. In the same document he was commissioned to consecrate the Church. The Commission and licence ran as follows:—

D.[2] *Commissio ad consecrandam Ecclesiam apud Madraspatam in Indiis Orientalibus.*

'Henricus, permissione divinâ London' Episcopus, Dilecto nobis in Christo Richardo Portman de Madraspatam in partibus Indiæ Orientalis, clerico, Salutem et Gratiam: Cum nos ex fide digna relatione recepimus Mercatores sive Factores Anglicanos ad Honorabilem Societatem sive Communitatem Mercatorum Indiæ Orientalis spectan' et pertinen' et apud Madraspatam prædict' et in locis ibidem circumvicinis sive circumjacentibus commorantes, pia et religiosa devotione ductos quo melius Deo inserviant, Ecclesiam in Dei Honorem et in usum eorum religiosum sumptibus suis propriis noviter erigi, ædificari, et construi fecisse.

'Tibi,—de cujus fidelitate, morum integritate, Literarum scientia, sana Doctrina et Diligentia plurimum confidimus,—committimus et mandamus quatenus Tu, vice loco et nomine nostris, dictam Ecclesiam omniaque et singula utensilia et necessaria ad eandem spectan' necnon cemeterium (si quod

[1] The Solemn League and Covenant pledged subscribers to this among other things:—'That we shall in like manner without respect of persons endeavour the extirpation of Popery, Prelacy,—that is, Church government by Archbishops, Bishops, their Chancellors and Commissaries, Deans, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, and all other ecclesiastical officers depending on that hierarch,—superstition, heresy, schism, profaneness, and whatsoever shall be found to be contrary to sound doctrine and the power of godliness,' etc.

[2] From the Registry of the Bishop of London.

sit) ab omni usu communi et profano separes; et soli divino cultui, et divinorum celebrationem quantum interest, et de jure possis, addicas.

'[Tibi committimus et mandamus] officiumque curati in Ecclesiâ prædictâ in precibus communibus aliisque ministeriis Ecclesiasticis ad officium presbyteri pertinen' juxta formam descriptam in Libro publicarum precum authoritate parliamen' hujus incliti Regni Angliæ in ea parte edit' et stabilit' et canones et constitutiones in ea parte legitime stabilit' et publicat' et non aliter neque alio modo.

'Tibi etiam—[1] praestito primitus per Te (vigore Commissionis geren' dat' cum præsentibus a nobis in eâ parte decret')[1] juramento de Agnoscendo Regiam supremam potestatem in causis Ecclesiasticis et Temporalibus ac de Renunciando Refutando et Recusando omni et omnimodæ jurisdictioni potestati Authoritati et Superioritati foraneis juxta vim formam et effectum Statuti Parliamenti dicti Regni Angliae edit' et provis'[2]—subscriptisque per Te tribus illis articulis descriptis in tricessimo sexto capitulo Libri Constitutionum sive canonum Ecclesiasticorum anno Domini Millesimo Sexcentesimo Quarto Regiâ Authoritate edit' et promulgat'[3]—necnon renunciato per Te pacto sive fœdere Solemni juxta statutum in ea parte editum—Licentiam et Facultatem nostras concedimus et impertimur.

'In cujus rei Testimonium sigillum nostrum Episcopale præsentibus apponi fecimus. Datum in domo sive palatio nostro Londinen' vicessimo die mensis Decembris Anno Dom' Millimo Sexcentesimo Septuagesimo Nono, et Nostræ translationis Anno Quinto.'

The service of dedication and consecration was then proceeded with. Streynsham Master in his own name and in the name of the principal people in the place—including the Chaplains, the Company's officials and the free merchants—presented a petition to Mr. Richard Portman as the Commissary of the Bishop of London, in which they dedicated the Church—asking him to accept 'this our freewill offering'—and prayed him to consecrate it, i.e. to set it apart from all profane and common use.

[1] 'By virtue of a Commission of the same date (gerentis datum) as these presents granted (decretæ) by us for that purpose.'

[2] 'Editi et provisi (Statuti).'

[3] 'Editi et promulgati (Libri).'

55

'E.'[1] *The Petition.*

'Sir, Wee are come hither to the dedication of this Building for a Church, and I am ordered in the name of the Right Worshipfull Streynsham Master, Esquire, Agent and Governor of this Town and Garrison, and in the name of the other gentlemen here underwritten, and all the other contributors, whether present or absent, to represent unto you, That whereas this fort Saint George and Town of Madraspatam, alias Chinnapatnam, upon the Coast of Chormandell in the East Indies hath been near forty years under the Government of the English Nation, and Wee have hitherto had no Church for the public worship of God, Wee have now erected one at our own cost and charge with an intent and purpose that it may be dedicated[2] to the publick worship of Allmighty God, and that His Holy and Blessed name might there be honoured and called upon by all Christian Protestant people that are at present in or shall come hereafter unto this place, I therefore, in the name of the said Streynsham Master, Esquire, and in the names of all the other contributors, whether present or absent, doe promise hereafter to refuse and renounce to put this Church or any part of it to any profane or common use whatsoever, and desire it may be dedicated wholly and only to Religious uses for the Glory of God and the salvation of our souls, in which respect we doe humbly beseech God to accept this our sincere intent and purpose, and doe unanimously desire you as God's Minister and by virtue of that power which you have now upon this occasion received from the Right Reverend Father in God Henry Lord Bishop of London, to accept this our free will offering, and to decree this Church to be severed from all common and profane uses and so to sever it, as also by the Word of God and prayer and other spirituall and religious duties to dedicate it to the sacred name of God and to His Service and Worship only; promising that Wee will ever hold it as an holy place, even as God's house, and use it accordingly, and that Wee and our successors in this place will from time to time and ever hereafter as need shall be, so far as in us lies, see it conveniently repaired and decently furnished in such sort as a Church ought to be. And Wee doe further promise for ourselves and Our successors in this place to use our utmost endeavours to procure alwayes from

[1] From the Registry of the Bishop of London.
[2] Devoted, given up to.

time to time a sufficient Clerk or Clerks, being in the Order of Priesthood, licensed and authorized according to the Lawes of England, to the end that he or they may take upon them the cure of the said Church, and duely say Divine Service in the same att time appointed, and performe all other such offices and Dutyes as by the Cannons of our Church and the Lawes of the Kingdome of England every Minister is bound to doe, provided notwithstanding that for the future noe corps may be interred within the said Church or in the Churchyard adjoining thereunto.

'Streynsham Master.	'Ralph Ord.
'John Bridger.	'John Wilcox.
'Timothy Wilkes.	'Richard Browne.
'Richard Portman.	'James Wheeler.
'Richard Elliot.	'Timothy Harris.
'Jno. Nicks.	'William Jearsey.
'Elihu Yale.	'John Davies.
'Vincent Sayon.	'Thomas Lucas.'
'James Bett.'	

Of the above persons William Jearsey and Thomas Lucas were free merchants,[1] James Bett was the Commandant of the garrison, and the rest were merchants of various grades in the service of the Company.

The expression 'which you have now upon this occasion received from' etc. seems to show that the administration of the oaths, the delivery of the Licence and Commission to consecrate, and the presentation of the Petition took place in the Church on the occasion—probably the morning—when the people were gathered together for the Consecration service.

The following is a copy of the decree or instrument of Consecration.

'F.[2] *Consecratio Ecclesiæ apud Madraspatam in Indiis Orientalibus.*

'In Nomine Domini, Amen. Cum egregius vir Streynshamus Master, Armiger, Agens pro honorabili Societate sive Communitate Mercatorum Londinensium apud Indos Orientales, et Gubernator hujus Castri Sancti Georgii Oppidique Madraspatam, et multi alii Mercatores sive Factores Anglicani

[1] *Madras in the Olden Time*, Appendix vii.
[2] From the Registry of the Bishop of London.

ad eandem Communitatem pertinentes, et apud Madraspatam prædictam et in locis adjacentibus Commorantes, pia et religiosa devotione ducti, quo melius Deo inserviant, Ecclesiam in Dei honorem et in usum eorum (continentem inter muros ejusdem in Longitudine ab Oriente ad Occidentem Octoginta et sex pedes aut circiter, in Latitudine vero ab Aquilone ad Austrum quinquaginta et sex pedes) sumptibus suis propriis jam ædificaverint; eandemque Ecclesiam Ebenis vacerris [1] a Cancello distinxerint; sacrâ mensâ decenter instructâ, Baptisterio, pulpito, sedibus convenientibus imo, elegantissimis aliisque necessariis ad Divinum Cultum sufficienter et decenter ornaverint; mihique unâ voce supplicaverint ut dictam Ecclesiam ab usibus prophanis et communibus separarem, et in usus sacros et Divinos addicerem, secundum Facultatem a Reverendo in Christo patre Domino Henrico permissione Divinâ Londinen' Episcopo, in vice Loco et nomine suo, mihi datam; Ego Richardus Portman, presbyter, et Sacellanus pro Honorabili Societate prædictâ, nuper ex Aulâ Sanctæ Mariæ apud Oxonienses Artium Magister, ad pium et religiosum eorum Desiderium, eandem Ecclesiam ab omni communi et profano usu in perpetuum separo; et soli Divino Cultui ac Divinorum celebrationi in perpetuum Addico, Dico, Dedicoque; vizt. precum publicarum Religiose recitandarum, verbique Dei sincere proponendi et prædicandi, Sacramentorum Eucharistiæ et Baptismatis in eadem ministrandorum, Matrimonii Solemnizandi, et sic de cæteris quæ in aliis Ecclesiis licite fieri possunt et solent; excepto quod Mortui non sunt hic sepeliendi; ac insuper prædictam Ecclesiam nunc et in futurum Addicimus et Dedicamus per nomen Sanctæ Mariæ; et sic Dedicatam fuisse et esse et in futuris perpetuis temporibus remanere debere palam et publice pronuncio, Decerno et declaro; et per Nomen Sanctæ Mariæ Nomino et appello, et sic perpetuis futuris temporibus nominandam et appellandam fore Decerno.'

At the conclusion of the solemn service salutes were fired in honour of the occasion by the garrison infantry as well as by the garrison gunners. A Council meeting was subsequently held, and the event of the morning was recorded in the Council's Consultation Book. It runs as follows:—

'Thursday, 28th October 1680. The new Church was dedicated by virtue of commissions directed to the Govern-

[1] 'By means of ebony rails.'

ment, and to Mr. Richard Portman the Minister, from his Lordship the Bishop of London. The solemnity was performed in very good order, and concluded with vollies of small shot fired by the whole garrison drawn out, and the cannon round the Fort. The Church named St. Mary's as at first intended, and from this time forward all public service to be there performed.

'It is observable that at the dedication of a new Church by the French Padres and Portuguese in 1675, Sir William Langhorne, then Agent, had fired guns from the Fort; and yet at this time neither Padre nor Portuguese appeared at the dedication of our Church, nor so much as gave the Governor a visit afterwards to wish him joy of it.'

It is to be observed that the word made use of in the Council Minute Book with respect to the ceremony which had just taken place is 'dedication.' The building was certainly dedicated: that is, given up by its builders and owners for sacred purposes, so that they had no longer any private property in it, nor private rights connected with it, even though they had expended their own money over the building of it. But more than this was done. The building was also consecrated, solemnly set apart from all common and secular use, by the authority and by the act of the Bishop of London. 'Qui facit per alium facit per se.' It must not be thought that the consecration of St. Mary's was not a real consecration because it was not performed by a Bishop in person. Consecration is the function of a Priest. As a rule he receives authority to consecrate the elements of the Lord's Supper only. But he might receive authority to consecrate other things also. In this case Richard Portman received authority to consecrate St. Mary's Church.

The building of the Church at Fort St. George fired the Company's servants at Bombay to emulate the good example; and they set about the work. The Company were not unwilling to help; indeed they exercised their influence in favour of the scheme by helping the local authorities to collect money for the purpose. This resolution was one of the results of their goodwill[1]:—

[1] *Court Minutes*, 28 Jan. 1684–5.

'Resolved that such gentlewomen as shall be permitted to go for India be obliged to pay £10 apeece on the day of their respective marriages towards the finishing of the Church now building at Bombay.'

Twenty years later Benjamin Adams, the Bengal Chaplain, set on foot a scheme for building a Church at Calcutta, at that time raised to the dignity of a Presidency. Through the efforts of Dean Prideaux and the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Company, which had a monopoly of trade to the East Indies and profited so much from it, was forced by its charter of 1698 to do more than it had hitherto done for its Christian and heathen subordinates and subjects. And so it is not surprising to find that the Company gave more assistance in the building of the Church at Calcutta than they had previously given [1] for similar purposes. They gave the site, they gave Rs. 2000; and they gave a bell. Until the end of the 18th century St. Mary's, Fort St. George, was the only Church in India which was built without the Company's assistance.

The Church at Bombay was not built in the year 1684–5 when the Company passed the above resolution. There were local quarrels, and the matter was delayed. Hamilton says [2] that £5000 was collected for the purpose; 'but Sir John Child, having been sent over as Governor, converted the money to his own use, and nothing more was ever heard of it.' Hamilton was an interloper; he tells so many stories of the Company's servants which are known not to be true, that it is highly probable that this story is not true. Anyhow the Church at Bombay was not built till twenty years later.

There were many Roman Catholic Churches in different parts of India before St. Mary's was built; and although Valentyn does not give the date of the foundation of the Dutch Churches in his history, there can be little doubt that the Dutch had Churches at their more important settlements before the year 1680. St. Mary's may, however, boast of being the first building connected with the National Church of England in the country.

[1] Hyde's *Parochial Annals of Bengal*, pp. 51–9.
[2] Moore's *Voyages and Travels*, vol. ii. p. 669.

CHAPTER V

FROM THE BUILDING OF THE CHURCH TO THE END OF THE CENTURY

NOTWITHSTANDING the prosperity and popularity of his reign Streynsham Master, who was quite misunderstood at home, was superseded in 1681. Before giving over charge to his successor he brought to the notice of the Company the good and faithful service of one of their servants at Metchlepatam, lately deceased. The result was that the Company voted the cost of a handsome monument to his memory, recording his virtues. It was the first of a long series of similar tributes, some of which adorn St. Paul's Cathedral London, some the walls of Westminster Abbey, and some the Churches of their settlements in the East. The record of faithful service is as follows[1]:—

'Mr. Maurice Wynn of Metchlepatam being dead, so that we cannot reward his fidelity to himself, we are willing to be at some charge to preserve the memory of his merit, and our own gratitude; and do therefore order you to cause a considerable tomb to be erected over his body. On the building and graving whereof you may disburse to the value of 200 pagodas, and cause the following epitaph to be engraven upon it in large capital letters in four languages, viz. English, Portuguese, Persian and Gentue:—

'"The Honourable East India Company of England for a perpetual remembrance of the fidelity and care of their good servant Maurice Wynn, deceased, in preventing English Interlopers at Metchlepatam, have caused this monument to be erected under which his body lies interred; he died Chief of this Factory the —— day of —— Anno Domini 1680."'

[1] Despatch, 10 March 1681–2.

On the recommendation of Master the Bay Agency was made independent of Fort St. George. In the year 1679 he made a tour of inspection of the subordinate Factories. He was accompanied by the newly arrived Chaplain, Richard Elliot. The joint influence of the Governor and Chaplain effected some changes for good in the every day life of the Hugli Factors. The Company's Rules 'for the Christian and sober Comportment of all our Factors and Servants,' dated 1667, were put in force; and the fines for the breaches of the various Rules were ordered to be sent annually to Fort St. George, to be credited to the Charity Fund for the relief of the Poor. Master submitted his report to the Directors on the condition of the subordinate Factories in 1681, just before his supersession; and the Directors acted upon his suggestions. Hedges became the first independent Agent of the Bay. And the fines under the Company's Rules were applied to the relief of the local poor instead of being sent to Fort St. George.

Streynsham Master returned home in 1682, a year after Richard Portman. At the end of 1682 one of the Bay Chaplains, Mr. Lesley, was recalled by the Directors, having been evil reported of for intemperance and gaming.[1] It is not very easy to estimate the value of these reports, when some are known to have been false. Anyhow at the beginning of 1683 there were only two Chaplains on the Coast and Bay; Richard Elliot at Fort St. George and John Evans at Hugli; and no other appointments were made till 1691.

The Reverend H. B. Hyde has given an exhaustive life of John Evans in the 'Parochial Annals of Bengal'; and he defends his character against the aspersions that were freely cast upon it by some of his contemporaries. Evans went to Hugli in 1678 and remained there till December 1686, when the Factory was destroyed by the troops of the Nawab of Bengal. He accompanied Job Charnock, the Agent, and the remnant of the settlement in their flight to Chutternuttee; thence to the malarious swamp at Hidgelee; and thence to Balasore, where the survivors—consisting of 28 souls—were rescued by a Company's ship, and taken to Fort St. George. In this perilous retreat he was accompanied by his wife; but

[1] Despatch to Hugly, 26 May 1682.

it is probable she did not survive it. He arrived at Fort St. George in March 1689 and remained there for four years. He assisted the Chaplain in his work until August 1692 when the Company dispensed with his services. He remained at the Fort in a private capacity till June 1693, when, against the orders of the Fort St. George Council,[1] he returned to Chutternuttee. In the following February he returned to England.

He suffered personally in the service of the Company; but the Company showed him no consideration for what he had gone through in their service. He was guilty of private trading to Europe; which was in the eyes of Josiah Child and the majority of the other Directors an unpardonable offence.

There was nothing dishonourable nor dishonest in what he did; which can be seen by the fact that he did not lose the respect of the merchants among whom he ministered[2]; they allowed him to join in their ventures in country goods from port to port, and in their exports to England of goods not required by the Company. He lent his money to the venturers or joined in their venture just as one might lend money to a Railway Company or buy its shares; and he took the same risk as they did from the King's enemies, pirates, fire, shipwreck etc. If he was successful, it was for the reason that though some men are not fortunate in their ventures, some are. It is too late in the day to try and get up indignation against John Evans because of his trading ventures.[3] He was denounced by the Company and dismissed, like many other honourable men at the period; but there was nothing morally wrong in his action. Some of the Directors protested against the harsh treatment dealt out to some of their best servants on this account; and joined the new Company of venturers rather than pursue it. The names of Papillon and Master are pre-eminent in this connection.

There is another subject intimately connected with morals which may not be omitted in a history of this kind; more

[1] Fort St. George Consultations, 13 June 1693.
[2] Fort St. George Consultations, 28 March 1688.
[3] Sir William Hunter, Talboys Wheeler, and Dr. C. R. Wilson are unanimous in the adverse character of the judgement they have formed against him.

especially since so many of the early Chaplains seem to have suffered from it. From a very early period it pleased the Directors to receive favourably reports about their servants in responsible positions from those subordinate to them. In the middle of the 17th century they are found receiving and considering petitions and reports from native merchants and subordinates against their own Agents. The knowledge that this policy was pursued undermined the confidence between employer and employed, and was a distinct injustice to the latter. It was not until Sir William Langhorne, an old servant of the Company, came upon the Directorate, that the Company began to discourage espionage and refuse to listen to tales against their servants in the East behind their backs.

Sir William Hunter has drawn attention[1] to a movement in favour of the Evangelisation of India which took place at this period. The Honourable Robert Boyle, the philosopher, in 1677 reopened the question originated by Baxter in 1660, by commending to the East India Company (of which he himself was a Director) a plan for the propagation of the Gospel in the East Indies. He had previously discussed his plan with Dr. Fell, Bishop of Oxford, and was able to report that the Bishop would undertake to train men in the knowledge of Arabic for the work, if the Company would send scholars to Oxford to be trained, and would bear the cost of the training. Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, was in close sympathy with Boyle and Fell.

The following letter was found by Hunter among the Indian manuscripts in the Bodleian Library. It is from Bishop Fell of Oxford to Archbishop Sancroft of Canterbury, and is dated the 21 June 1681 :—

'May it please your Grace,

'I gave you the trouble of a letter by the last post, and should not have been so unfortunate, but that an unexpected occasion has happened, which may prove of concernment to the public, and which ought to proceed with your Grace's privity and guidance. That your Grace may have a perfect knowledge of the affair, I shall present you with a narrative of every step that has been made in it. The

[1] Hunter's *India of the Queen*, pp. 232 (ed. 1903) and 242 *note*.

evening before I left London, I went to take my leave of Mr. Boyle, with whom I had long ago contracted an acquaintance when he dwelt in this place (Oxford).

'It so happened that we fell into discourse of the East India Company, and I enlarged upon the shame that lay upon us, who had so great opportunities by our commerce in the East, that we had attempted nothing towards the conversion of the Natives, when not only the papists, but even the Hollanders had laboured herein. While I was upon this argument Dr. Burnet came in and heard the remainder of it. The effect of the discourse at that time was, that Mr. Boyle immediately assigned £100 which lay in Mr. Robert Clayton's hands, towards the encouragement of such as should learn the Malaian language, and fit themselves for the service of God in the East. Since then Dr. Burnet having an occasion of speaking with Sir Josiah Child, Governor of the East India Company, reported to him what had passed at Mr. Boyle's, which he seemed affected with. Whereupon Dr. Burnet about ten days since wrote to me and gave me notice of what had passed, adding that he verily believed that if I would write to Sir Josiah Child, he would be induced to do somewhat that would be considerable.

'I thought with myself that the loss of a letter was not to be put in balance with the possibility of a real advantage, especially one to the public; and accordingly I wrote, and by the last post am informed by Dr. Burnet that on Friday last a Committee was called and he directed to attend. Where being called in he was told that the proposition which I had made was unanimously entertained by the Company; that they had appointed a sub-committee to form a design, and raise a fund, which the Governor hoped would rise to £5000, wherewith they would buy actions which would render 10 or 20 per cent. With these sums they would maintain in the University young scholars who should be instructed in the principles of religion and the Malaian language. There are other particulars concerning the translation of the Gospel and Psalms and Catechism and printing them; with grammars, vocabularies, and other subsidiary books, of which Dr. Burnet will be able to give your Grace a more distinct account. How far this very unexpected affair may proceed, and how it is to be managed and advanced your Grace will best judge. The whole thing being undesigned and providential will, I hope, not look like meddling and business in the concerns of others.

(Signed) 'Jo. Oxon.'

The Company agreed to take charge of the fund, and to expend it under the advice of Sancroft, Fell and Burnet, without any gain to themselves.[1] They also subscribed sums of money for the maintenance of the young men; and agreed to accept[2] such nominations as the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishops of London and Oxford should agree upon. And they bound themselves 'during the continuance of the present joint stock, and our having an interest or share of adventure therein,' to pay for the education and instruction of young scholars in both or either of the Universities in the Eastern languages, 'and for such other pious uses of the same kind as the Court of Committees shall from time to time think fit.'[3]

It is worthy of record that amongst the original subscribers on the Directorate were Sir Josiah Child and Sir Jeremy Sambrooke; and that by the end of 1682 they had in hand enough money to produce £161 per annum.

So this pious design for the propagating of the Christian Religion in the East Indies was set on foot. The projectors had in their minds certain definite ideas as to how it could be done:—

1. They had Boyle's translation of the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles into Malay.

2. They had Pocock's translation of Grotius' Truth of the Christian Religion into Arabic.

3. There was the teaching afforded by the Professorship of Arabic, established at Oxford by Archbishop Laud in 1637.

4. There was Bishop Fell's offer to superintend the training of the young men in Arabic.

5. They had the liberal financial assistance of various members of the East India Company.

The essence of the plan was to make use of the Company's Chaplains as Missionaries, having previously given them a special training for the purpose. The scheme failed for various reasons. Bishop Fell died in 1686. The Company's Charter lapsed in 1693, and was renewed for only five years. It was found out before long that neither Arabic nor Malaian

[1] *Court Minutes*, 6 July 1681. [2] *Court Minutes*, 3 May 1682.
[3] *Court Minutes*, 3 May 1682.

would be of any use for the purpose of evangelising India. Some of the subscribed funds were expended over printing and distributing Boyle's Malay version of the Gospels in the Company's settlements; but it is believed—and the belief is strengthened by a reference to the funds in a letter (hereafter printed) from the Chaplain at Poplar to the Directors—that the bulk of the money was given back to the subscribers.

For some time before the Church was built the Company had been in the habit of sending out to Fort St. George liberal supplies of religious books. Mr. Ralph Ord the Schoolmaster took out a supply with him in 1678. A further liberal supply was granted a year later,[1] consisting of a large Bible, a large Common Prayer Book, and a Book of Homilies; these were evidently for Church use. There were besides

100 Bibles.
200 Prayer Books.
300 Whole Duty of Man.
100 Psalters }
100 Testaments } 'Of the same sort as Mr. Ord carried with him.'
100 Primmers }

Later on, when the Directors understood that Portuguese books were more required than books in Arabic and Malay, liberal gifts of Portuguese books were made; and the Chaplains were chosen with a view to their being able to make themselves useful in the Settlements among the many who spoke Portuguese there. The Missionary idea was not given up; it was modified and made practical by a further experience of the facts of the case.

The year 1687 is memorable in the history of St. Mary's Church for the reason that in that year was purchased its first organ. Captain Weltden, who commanded the Company's Ship Curtana, brought out a pipe organ with him, and offered it to the Council for 70 pagodas, which it is stated was below the prime cost. It is not stated in the Records why he brought it, nor why he sold it under prime cost; but we read in the Consultation Book that on the 2nd June 1687 the

[1] *Court Minutes*, 15 Aug. 1679.

Council accepted his offer, and ordered the instrument to be bought and paid for. No doubt this is the instrument referred to by Lockyer in his Trade in India. This organ lasted till 1718. In that year the Vestry decided to order a new one together with an organist from home. There is no reference to this in the Public Consultations, and so it is to be inferred that the whole cost was borne by the Vestry and not by the Company. There is a record of the instrument and the organist being sent out.[1] This must have been the instrument which was carried away by the French to Pondicherry before they restored the Fort to the English merchants in 1749.

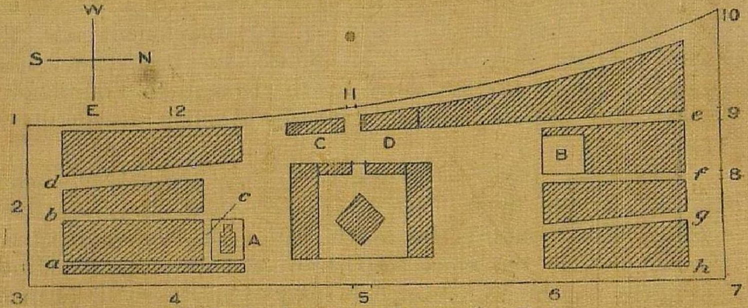
In the year 1687 it was decided to lodge the soldiers inside the walls of the town. For over forty years they had been accommodated outside the north wall. The Conquest of the Deccan and of the more important of the Southern Hindu Kingdoms by the Mahommedan ruler of northern India made it necessary to strengthen the outer defences of the Fort, and to accommodate the soldiers inside the walls in preparation for a possible siege. The barrack was built 'over against our Fort Gate (where formerly were the stables and other old buildings which the great storm blew down)' that the soldiers 'may be all within our walls to be ready upon occasion'; at each end there was 'a prison for soldiers that offend'; and the building was ordered to be 'tarrast' at the top.[2] This new barrack was west of the west wall of the inner Fort, south of the River Gate, and along the west wall of the outer fort.

Owing to difficulties with the new Mahommedan conquerors some of the subordinate factories on the coast had to be closed; the Factors and merchants belonging to them were brought to Fort St. George. This made a considerable increase to the population. In a time of danger it was necessary that all these new comers as well as the soldiers should know the names of all the points, streets, gates, batteries and curtains; so that there should be no confusion if circumstances obliged them to man the walls. The Council therefore placarded the

[1] *Court Minutes*, 22 Oct. 1718.
[2] Consultations, 16 June 1687 (terraced).

gates with the necessary information.[1] The four points of the inner fort were to be known as the English point, Scotch, French and Irish; but it is not stated in the Consultation Book which was which.

As to the outer works and streets the following plan shows how they were named at this period.



1687. *Not drawn exactly to scale.* *F. P.*

1. Charles Point.
2. James Bulwark.
3. St. Thomas Point.
4. Dover Battery.
5. Sea Gate.
6. Plymouth Battery.
7. York Point.
8. Middle Gate.
9. Choultry Gate.
10. Gloucester Point.
11. River Gate.
12. River Battery.

a. St. Thomas' Street (21 houses).
b. James Street (20 houses).
c. Church Street (5 houses).
d. Charles Street (9 houses).
e. Choultry Street (9 houses).
f. Middle Street (13 houses).
g. Gloucester Street (4 houses).
h. York Street (14 houses).

A. St. Mary's Church (English).
B. St. Andrew's Church (R.C.)
C. The new barrack.
D. The Hospital in 1692.

Besides these eight principal streets there were four alleys or lanes between the houses and the north and south walls which had the names of the streets they were nearest to.

Choultry Alley (between *e* and *f*).
York Lane (between *f* and *h*).
St. Thomas' Lane (between *a* and *b*).
James Alley (between *b* and the west wall).

The arrival of a number of the Company's servants from the factories which had been closed made it necessary to arrange for some accommodation for them. The following extract from the Consultation Book shows what was done[2]:—

[1] Consultations, 7 Feb. 1687–8.
[2] Consultations, 22 March 1687–8.

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'The withdrawing several of our factories having brought many of the Rt. Hon. Company's servants hither, for whom having no accommodation in the Fort,' etc. . . . 'And there being a very commodious house built by the contribution of the Town inhabitants for an Hospitall, to entertain sick soldiers and seamen; which lying so near the Rt. Hon. Company's sorting godown and the Church and in the middle of the City that 'tis very offensive and inconveniently situated for that use; and its tarrass joining the godown; and the great concourse of company that frequent the hospitall renders the Rt. Hon. Company's goods in danger of being stolen which sometimes must unavoidably lie open in the godown yard; and the goods often lost thence has been suspected to go that way, which cannot be better prevented for the future but by adding the Hospitall to the godown, which the many lower rooms therein will be of great conveniency and service for china and other sorts of fine goods, and the upper rooms for lodging chambers for Factors and Writers; upon which consideration and of its being so many several ways convenient and safe for the Rt. Hon. Company's service; 'tis agreed and ordered that it be bought of the Parish for their account, and that a new hospital be built with the money at a more convenient place near the river side. And Mr. Higginson, Mr. Fraser, Capt. Bett and the Churchwardens do make a due survey and value of the said hospitall building; and that it be paid for accordingly; and that the Churchwardens etci do begin with all expedition the new hospitall by the river.'

This extract shows the origin of the hospital; like the Church it was erected by the inhabitants, without assistance from the Company, for their own use; and like the Church it was vested—as far as the local Government could vest it—in the Minister and Churchwardens of the Parish. It was situated in James Street. It was known at this period as the new hospital, and is entered as such in the rent roll of houses in 1688,[1] which seems to show that there was another building for the purpose in earlier times.

As the building belonged to the parishioners it could not be sold nor altered without their consent. To obtain this a Vestry meeting was called, and the necessary permission obtained; and the committee appointed by the Council was

[1] Consultations, 2 Aug. 1688, and Wheeler, p. 138.

authorised to survey and value the building. This committee reported to the Council the result of the survey within three weeks of their appointment. This is the extract from the Consultation Book [1]:—

'We the subscribers being appointed by order of the President and Council and of a Vestry of the Parish to surveigh and value the hospitall, do make our report as follows, viz. That the hospitall is very well and strong built and requires little repair. And in consideration of the great dearness of all materials for building, more then att the time of building the hospitall (which is like to continue) wee are of opinion that the hospitall may be now worth as much as the prime cost, which by the Church books we find to amount to Pags. 838.

(Signed) 'NATH. HIGGINSON.
'WILLIAM FRASER.
'RICHARD ELLIOTT.
'HENRY MOSE.
'JAMES BETT.
'CHARLES METCALFE.
'PETER LARGE.

'13 April 1688.'

Of the above, Higginson, Fraser and Mose were merchants in the Company's service, Metcalfe and Large were free merchants, Bett was Commandant of the garrison, and Elliott the Chaplain.

The Council accepted the valuation and ordered the amount to be paid to the Churchwardens for the use of the parish. They also ordered the hospital to be cleaned and fitted for the Company's servants needing lodgings. The deed of sale was prepared and signed and entered in the Consultation Book within a week of the acceptance of the report. It was as follows [2]:—

'Whereas the parishioners of St. Mary's Fort St. George in Vestry assembled did unanimously agree to and with the Hon. Mr. Elihu Yale, President and Governor of the said Fort, and Council, for the selling of the old hospital to the Rt. Hon. the East India Company, Now know ye that we the

[1] Consultations, 14 April 1688. [2] Do. 19 April 1688.

Minister and Churchwardens of the Parish aforesaid for the time being, to and with the consent of the said Parishioners have bargained and sold unto the Hon. President and Council for the use and behoof aforesaid, all and every part of the said Hospital (the utensils thereunto belonging excepted) with the yard and all the outhouses and conveniences thereunto belonging, for and in consideration of the sum of Pags. 837 Fanams 27, which money we confess by these presents to have received. Witness our hands this 19th day of April 1688.

'Richard Elliott.
'Henry Mose.
'Charles Metcalfe.'

The hospital was considered to be partly a charitable institution as late as 1698. The furniture, the clothing of the patients, and the hospital necessaries were renewed partly at the cost of the Company and partly at the cost of the Churchwardens, as this extract from the Consultation Books shows[1]:—

'The Paymaster produced a list of sick men's clothes . . . wanting in the Hospitall; He is ordered to provide clothes and cotts to the amount of forty pagodas, whereof one third to be paid by the Churchwardens as usual.'

But as the prosperity of the settlement increased the population increased too, and the charge of the hospital became too great a strain upon the resources of the Church Stock. Besides the renewal of necessaries the Vestry had regularly given Pags. 50 a year towards its general upkeep. At the close of 1698 the Ministers and Churchwardens petitioned the President and Council to be relieved of the charge. There can be no doubt that the feeling was general in the settlement that the Company should provide medical care for its soldiers and sailors, and not leave them to the charity of its ill paid servants. The result of this petition was three resolutions[2]:—

1. That for the future the Ministers and Churchwardens were discharged from contributing to the hospital, with the

[1] Consultations, 6 July 1696. [2] Do. 8 Dec. 1698.

exception of paying for such sick persons as they sent thither; and that the Chirurgeon or Steward of the hospital should henceforth render a monthly account to the Paymaster of the charges.

2. That that part of the petition claiming consideration for building the hospital be referred to the Rt. Hon. Company.

3. That an account in writing be demanded of Elihu Yale Esquire of the building of the new hospital, and that Mr. Fraser go to him for the same.

The meaning of the third resolution has to be explained. Mr. Fraser waited upon Yale, who was living as a free merchant in the Fort, and reported the result of the interview to the Council[1]:—Yale declared that the new hospital cost him nearly 1700 pagodas, and promised to give an account of the same in writing. The Council was at this time valuing the Company's buildings in the Fort; and the valuations were to be given in at the beginning of March.[2] They knew nothing of the value of the Hospital except that the Vestry had paid about 800 pagodas towards its erection. From its appearance, and their knowledge of the cost of building, they must have suspected that it had cost more than the Vestry had paid. The style of it was respectfully alluded to in a petition dated the 14th Feb. 1730–1 of the French Capuchins in the Fort, who wished to rebuild their own quarters[3]; they said, 'we design to do this after the model of Tuscany, answerable to that of your Hospital and Guard House.' At the time it was built Elihu Yale—the wealthy benevolent Yale—was the President and Governor. He appears to have received the building contribution of the Vestry; to have erected the building with the help of a contractor; to have paid the balance of the expense out of his own pocket; and to have said nothing about the extra expense to anyone.

The position of the hospital was on the north side of the river gate, the Guard room or Lodge house or barrack being on the south side.

The Council wrote home and reported what they had done, and asked the Company to repay the Minister and Church-

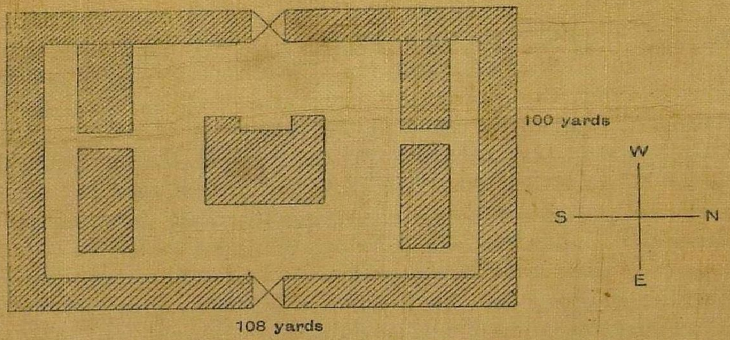
[1] Consultations, 12 Dec. 1698. [2] Do. 6 March 1698–9.
[3] Do. February 1730–1.

wardens the sum they had expended over the building in 1689. The Directors replied [1] :—

'We are willing for the reasons given to excuse the Church Stock from paying 50 pagodas per annum, formerly allowed, towards the charges of the hospital, and to bear all the charges thereof ourselves; but to reimburse the first cost of the building, in part or in whole, we cant find reasons cogent enough to persuade us thereunto. We are well informed there were public contributions and free will offerings given by our Commanders etc. for its first erection; and it is we think sufficient that we now bear the whole burden of its repairs, salary of Chirurgeon etc., and that the doors are open for all truly necessitous patients whether belonging to the garrison or town.'

It is to be noticed that the hospital in the Fort was originally designed for the use of the military, naval and civil population; and that when it was taken over by the local Government this joint use was continued. As an institution it remained in joint occupation of civil and military patients till 1898, when the new military hospital was built.

During this period very considerable alterations were made to the buildings and defences of the Fort. The Fort house,



The inner fort as rebuilt and rearranged in 1694. The bastions at the four corners are not shown, and the plan is not drawn exactly to scale. The centre house was the official residence of the Governor; it also contained the Council chamber, the hall, the library and the record room. The other buildings within the fort square contained the official residences of the Chaplain (until 1737) and a few of the senior merchants.

[1] Despatch, 21 Nov. 1699, 31.

erected by Cogan and Day within the inner Fort, had to be rebuilt in 1694.[1] The new plan was for a house 110 feet square, to be built on the East side of the Fort, 18 feet from the go-down wall, and at equal distances from the north and south walls. The old Fort house, seen and pictured by Fryer, stood diagonally to the walls of the Fort itself. The new Fort house, seen and mentioned by Lockyer, stood parallel to the walls, but nearer to the east than the west wall. It is shown in the plan of Fort St. George dated 1733.[2] The outer walls had been periodically strengthened as danger threatened. The repair of the west wall in 1699 was peculiar; 'such as belongs to it' was to be repaired and rebuilt by the Government; and 'those parts that belong to them' by private persons.[3]

A significant change in the last decade of the 17th century was the alteration of the name James Street to Church Street,[4] and the calling old Church Street by the name of Church Lane. It appears as Church Street in the plan of 1733; but the official name was not as popular as the original name, and did not last. The old name is found in use again in the Vestry record books in 1768.

The intermarriage question occasionally came to the fore up to 1700 for the reason that the Council only partially settled it in 1680. On that occasion they arranged about the offspring of all who were married at the Fort; but they made no rule about the children of those who were married elsewhere and afterwards came to live either at the Fort or at Madraspatam. In 1683, Oct. 31, the Fort St. George Council passed a resolution that 'the children of seamen who intermarry with native women, and settle with their Commanders' permission in Madras, are to be brought up in the Protestant Religion.' Soon after this the Agent and Council recommended that the marriage of the English soldiers in the Fort with native women should be encouraged. It was not only a religious question, but also a social and political one. The Company agreed, and wrote as follows on the 8th April 1687:—

[1] Consultations, 30 April 1694.
[2] *History of Fort St. George*, p. 152.
[3] Consultations, 6 April 1699.
[4] Do. 24 April 1699.

'The marriage of our soldiers to the native women of Fort St. George, formerly recommended by you, is a matter of such consequence to posterity that we shall be content to encourage it with some expense, and have been thinking for the future to appoint a Pagoda to be paid to the mother of any child that shall hereafter be born of any such future marriage upon the day the child is Christened, if you think this small encouragement will encrease the number of such marriages; but if you think it will not have any considerable effect that way, we had better keep our money, which we leave to your consideration, with the liberty to do therein as you shall think best.'

Whilst there are many entries [1] in the Consultation Books showing that this fee was paid to those who brought their children to be baptised at St. Mary's, even up to the time of the surrender of Fort St. George in 1746, yet the new Rules of 1680 and 1683 made it difficult sometimes for the men to obtain wives among the daughters of the Portuguese Roman Catholics. Rather than make the required promise some of the women would live with the men of their choice without marriage, and so retain control over their children's religion. The course they pursued created an unforeseen difficulty, which was in due course reported to the Directors. In their letter to the Agent and Council dated the 20th September 1682 they tried to brush aside the difficulty by this order:—

'Let no loose, ignorant, idle, expensive or debauched fellows continue in our service, of what condition or quality soever they are,' etc.

They repeated this admonition in 1684 and 1685, but with no result; and so in 1687 they suggested bribery in the case of the soldiers, and postponed the consideration of the other cases. The result of this consideration was a scheme for the conversion of the Portuguese, partly at the Company's expense, and partly at the expense of Elihu Yale the Governor. The following are extracts from the General Letter to Fort St. George, dated the 18th February 1690-1 (para. 47):—

'We would likewise desire our now President, Mr. Yale, whom God has blessed with so great an estate in our service

[1] Consultations, 17 Aug. 1696; this seems to have been the first claim of the gratuity by the soldiers; Pags. 14 were paid.

to set on foot another generous charitable work before he leaves India, that is, the building of a Church for the Protestant black people, and Portuguese, and the slaves which serve them, who have now no place to hear the word of God preached in a language they understand. . . . If they had God's word preached to them in the Portuguese language according to the Protestant Doctrine and Prayers of the Church of England, they would as readily frequent the Protestant Church as the Popish chapels. In order hereunto we shall get our Common Prayers and other offices of our Church translated into the Portuguese tongue, and send you some written copies thereof, after which when your Church is built etc. . . .

'Not only so, but we will send you what benevolence we can collect here for the ornament of the Church intended. In the mean time we are enquiring after some able Minister that can preach in the Portugal tongue; and also a Domine, as the Dutch call them, which in the style of our Church is a Deacon, that can read our prayers in Portugueze. These two officers we hope to send you by our ships that depart next winter, which we fear will be the soonest we can despatch any of our great ships to you.'

A year later, on the 22nd January 1691–2 the Directors wrote as follows to Fort St. George:—

'We shall send you by the following ships two Ministers, who have applied themselves to the learning of the Portuguese language, and have made a considerable progress therein, we designing them to be Ministers for the Protestant Portuguese Church, which we have desired you to cause to be built by the bounty of such as shall be inclined to further so good a work; both the said Ministers are sober, able, learned men; Mr. Lewes[1] we design to be first Minister of the Portuguese Church; and in case of the coming away of your present Minister Mr. Elliott, Mr. Lewes is to succeed in his place, being first elected of these two.

'Until a Protestant Portuguese Church be built we would have prayers read in the Portuguese language, and preaching some one day in every week, at the English Church.

'Mr. Evans having betaken himself so entirely to merchandizing we are not willing to continue any further salary or allowance to him after the arrival of our two Ministers we are

[1] Spelled by himself, Lewis.

now sending you, because the charge of maintaining four at that place will be too great.'

The two new Ministers Mr. George Lewis and Mr. Jethro Brideoake arrived at Fort St. George in August 1692. With respect to the latter the following letter is of great interest. It is extracted from Hyde's Syntagma by G. Sharpe.[1] It shows that Brideoake was recommended by Dr. Hyde himself. Dr. Hyde was President of Queen's College, Oxford. He was deeply interested in the study of Oriental languages and of comparative religions; and it seems likely that he recommended Brideoake in order to increase his own knowledge of both subjects. In the same volume there is a letter to Mr. Thomas Smith of Magdalen College Oxford, who was going apparently as Embassy Chaplain to Constantinople. Dr. Hyde writes to him :—

'It would be a good work if you did enquire into the religions of any other sorts of strange people, as you have occasion, and especially if you can get the authentic books of their religions, written in their own language; to any of which you may have the convenience of getting a translation made while you are at Constantinople.'

The letter shows that Sir Josiah Child led Brideoake to expect that he would be stationed at Fort St. George. It also shows the writer's sincerity in accepting the appointment. And it further shows that he was in some way connected at Oxford with the translation of the Church Liturgy into Portuguese.

'From the Reverend Master Jethro Brideoake M.A. to the Reverend Doctor Thomas Hyde S.T.P. at Oxford.

'Over Warton, Sept. 4, 1691.

'Sir,

'I designed before this time both to have waited upon and wrote to you; but unexpected and continued business hindered me in London from writing, and the same has befallen me since I returned into the country, which was the last week; but, in the beginning of the next, I design (God willing) to pay my respects to you. When I came to London I went to Wanstead to wait upon Sir Josiah Child, who (I suppose upon your account) received me very courteously;

[1] Vol. ii. page 474; ed. Ox. 1767.

and after a long entertainment of this discourse, told me he fixt upon me for Fort St. George; and so I took my leave of him; and thence went to find out Sir John Chardin, of whom I heard very often, but could not meet withal, till a week afterward, when I gave him your letter. And this I must say of Sir John, that whether it is French air that charms, or the sweetness of his conversation, or both, I cannot tell, yet I think I have hardly met with a more engaging person; one in whom (may we believe a face) appears nothing of design, but abundance of sincerity and true zeal to propagate that which I am sent about; and which (by God's blessing) I will make the sum of all endeavours. I know I undertake a great concern, and so shall consequently sequester myself from all engagements, that I may be wholly applied to that. I am told of those Chaplains who have got very great estates there, whither I am going; and particularly of one Evans who has been there but a short time, and is now coming home worth above £30,000. But be it so, it is not so much riches I shall look after, but really and faithfully to discharge my duty, that I may be able (God only knows how soon) to give an account to our great Master of that Ministry which I have undertaken, and in the accomplishment of which I shall always desire your prayers. Sir John promised me that he would write to you; I know not whether he has or no; but he desires to have the Common Prayer Book, as it is with us printed, translated into Portuguese, and when two or three sheets are printed off, to be sent to him to London, that he may have them perused. So that the sooner you get Abendano to do it, it will be the better; but of this and all those other instructions which you gave me I shall give you an account the next week. Pray my humble service to your Lady.

'I am, Reverend Sir,

'Your most Obedient Humble Servant

'JETHRO BRIDEOAKE.'[1]

George Lewis was stationed at Fort St. George according to the Directors' wish; but Mr. Brideoake was sent to Fort St. David. This was not what he expected; and, although it was a place yearly increasing in importance, so that the Fort was greatly strengthened in 1693, it is not surprising that he

[1] His name is spelled in various ways:—

Bridcoate, Fort St. David Pay List, 1693.

Bridcocks, Fort St. George Consultations, Dec. 1693.

Bridecoke / Bridcocke } Fort St. George Consultations, Feb. 1694–5.

obtained leave to return home, and that he actually left the place in February 1694–5.

On the 29 Feb. 1695–6 the Company expressed its disappointment at his return in these terms:—'We did by the Sampson send you two Ministers somewhat versed in the Portuguese language, vizt, Mr. Lewes and one Brideaux,[1] the latter of whom proved a very bad man,[2] and returned back on the same ship; but we hope Mr. Lewes has answered the good character we had of him, and applied himself to the reading of prayers in that language, and preaching one day a week in the English Church.'

The following letter has reference to the translation of the English Liturgy into Portuguese referred to in Brideoake's letter.

'From Dr. Benjamin Woodroffe, Gloucester Hall, Oxford

'To Sir Josiah Child.

'Honoured Sir

'Since my return to Oxford I have engaged the person of whom I wrote to you, to undertake the translation of our Liturgy into Portuguese, and he hath already begun it, and is resolved to make all convenient haste in completing it, in which I doubt neither his ability nor faithfulness. What my inspection may contribute to it shall not be wanting. Portuguese is his native language; English he understands very well. He speaks Latin, Hebrew and Lingua Franca, by the help of some of which (although I am not otherwise a great master of the Portuguese) I question not but I shall be able to make some judgement of his faithful performance. It is a worthy and truly Christian work, which God hath stirred up your spirit to promote among the poor Indians. I wish His blessing upon this and all other your generous and charitable undertakings; and I cannot but hope that these will diffuse a blessing through all your other great designs and concerns.

(Signed) 'Benj. Woodroffe.'[3]

Though Mr. Lewis had been sent out to officiate especially among the Protestant Black people—the Portuguese and the slaves—a doubt seems to have arisen in the mind of the Council at Fort St. George whether he ought to occupy an

[1] See note on previous page.

[2] There is nothing against him in the *Madras Records*; if there was any breach of faith it was on the part of Sir Josiah Child.

[3] *E.I. Co.'s Records, Home Series*, Misc. vol. 59.

inferior position to that held by Mr. Richard Elliott, and receive less pay. To this the Directors replied on the 6 March 1694–5, para. 16 :—

'Mr. Lewes the Minister is a good man, and all that are conscientious with you will like him better the longer you know him. We never intended him less than Mr. Elliott and the rest of our Chaplains.'

It was, however, the Directors' own arrangement that George Lewis had been receiving less than Mr. Richard Elliott. They had decreed him £30 gratuity instead of the usual £50. The Fort St. George Council interpreted their last letter as an acknowledgement of a mistake, and gave Lewis the extra £20—and probably also arrears for 1693 and 1694—and they wrote in their next letter [1] :—

'Mr. Elliott and Mr. Lewis our ministers agree very well, both between themselves and in being good and useful men. Mr. Lewis returns your Honours thanks for the £20 given him.'

In para. 30 of the same letter the Directors referred to the Portuguese Liturgy thus :—

'We have caused the liturgy of the Church of England with the Psalms of David to be translated into the Portuguese language for the use and benefit of the Portuguese inhabitants under our Government in India, which we printed at Oxford ; and herewith you will receive one hundred of them, which we hope our Lieutenant General [2] and Council will give such direction to Mr. Lewes that they may be made use of to answer of that general and extensive charity which first moved us to this undertaking at our single charge. That so the Gospel and the Protestant Religion may be made known to those poor and ignorant natives in their own language, to the honour of God, and the glory of our Church ; we had sent you more of them, but that our ships were got to Spithead before we received them in sheets from Oxford, but by the next shipping a greater number shall be sent you.'

Two years later [3] they advised the despatch of 300 more Portuguese liturgies, 'which you must take care so to employ as may best answer the end proposed.'

[1] Letter, 31 Jan. 1695–6. [2] Nathaniel Higginson, the Governor.
[3] Despatch, 16 April 1697.

The following extract from the Consultation Book [1] shows what use was made of the Portuguese books sent out. The intention of the promoters of the scheme and of the Directors was beyond praise, but the scheme itself was not fully considered before being carried out. The Portuguese lingua franca of the European settlements in India was a *patois* combination of several languages, of which Portuguese formed the foundation and the framework. It would have been just as easy to teach the Eurasians and natives (who spoke this *patois*) English, as to teach them Portuguese. George Lewis had studied Portuguese and soon became proficient in the *patois*. He was sent out especially to minister to the Portuguese Eurasians in their own tongue; therefore he continued to do so till he resigned the Service. But when he was gone the effort was not continued by his successors. They gave up their attention to education in English; and gradually the Portuguese *patois* has dropped out of use. This is the minute :—

'The Rt. Hon. Company in the 20th Para of their Letter dated the 20 Feb. 1695-6, ordering that the Portuguese Common Prayer Books be distributed for the use of the Portuguese inhabitants in such manner as will best tend to the Propagation of the Protestant Religion. It is ordered that the same be all delivered to Mr. Lewis, to be kept in the Church Library, and by him distributed to such of the Portuguese as desire and understand them; and because there are at present but few such, it is ordered that he lend one of them to any of the Rt. Hon. Company's servants or married inhabitants, especially such as have in their families Portuguese servants or slaves who speak the language. But there being but 72 books now sent (the rest being to follow) Mr. Lewis is to keep a list of the persons to whom they are lent, who are to subscribe their names in the list under a title obliging them to return the books when demanded, under the penalty of paying one pagoda each.'

During the Governorship of Mr. Elihu Yale a charter was obtained from King James II. (1687) for the establishment of a Mayor and Corporation for the better government and the better sanitary care both of Fort St. George and the town of

[1] Consultations, 25 Feb. 1696-7.

Madras outside it.[1] Within a very short time the question of the Mayor's official position, and his order of precedence in the European community, had to be settled—and this not only outside St. Mary's Church, but inside it too. On the 4th January 1692-3 the following order is recorded in the Council Minute Book :—

'It is ordered that the Churchwardens do herewith cause a handsome seat to be made in the Church for the Mayor, next below the Clerk's desk in the said aisle, with a place for a Mace to lie on each side of him best to be seen. And that the Mayor's wife be placed next below him on the same side. And take care to seat those gentlewomen, that will be displaced by that means, where best it may be to their content, having due regard to their qualities.'

During the whole period of the Company's rule the allotment of seats in Church was the most delicate and difficult duty of the Churchwardens and Lay Trustees. The order of precedence in the House of God is no longer observed, nor desired, except in the case of the highest officials.

It was during this period (1688) whilst Elihu Yale was Governor that the Company entered into an agreement with some Armenian[2] merchants, by which they granted them a number of privileges in return for their assistance as merchants and dealers. Among others they allowed them a parcel of ground in the Black Town for the erection of a Church 'for the worship and service of God in their own way.' The Company also agreed to build at their own charge a convenient Church of timber, 'which afterwards the said Armenians may alter and build of stone or other solid materials to their own liking.' This part of the contract was not immediately carried out; and the Armenians appear to have reported the omission to the Directors; for the Directors wrote to Fort St. George on the 29 Feb. 1691-2, and ordered the Council to find the Armenians a convenient place for the worship of God according to the rites of their own Church, 'which is our agreement with them.'

This was another practical proof of the Company's liberal

[1] *Wheeler*, pp. 104-110 (ed. 1882).
[2] *Madras in the Olden Time*, p. 118 (ed. 1882).

minded toleration of the religion of foreigners. Probably it was the mental attitude of Englishmen in general at the time. They seem to have resented any variation from the national Faith in an Englishman or an Englishman's children; but as for foreigners they were different: they might do as they liked. And so the Company and its servants gave liberal help to the Portuguese Roman Catholics when they built and rebuilt their chapel; they gave liberal assistance to the Armenians when they built theirs; but at the same time they made a determined attempt to promote their own religion amongst those who they thought, rightly or wrongly, ought to hold it.

In 1695 a Portuguese inhabitant, Alvaro de Fonseca, applied to the local Government for permission to purchase a piece of ground for burial purposes in a private garden on the outskirts of the Black Town. The application was sent home to the Directors. Their reply[1] is worthy of notice, because it shows even at this early period an official disinclination for the establishment of freeholds. They said :—

'We are very unwilling to let any person have a freehold in Madras; however we are ready to comply with Mr. De Fonseca's request as far as possible; and therefore you may let him have a long lease of the said parcell of ground to be renewed when expired; which will answer his ends and preserve the tomb from being destroyed in time to come.'

Accordingly the local Government granted the ground on a lease of 15 years. Fonseca and those acting with him were not satisfied; for within two years he applied again.[2] The entry in the Consultation Book gives some further particulars, which seem to show that the ground was intended for Jewish burials :—

'Mr. Alvaro de Fonseca having formerly represented to us that the body of Mr. Bartholomew Rodriguez, Hebrew merchant deceased, is buried in a tomb lyeing within a garden of the said Bartholomew Rodriguez, about which tomb there is a bricke wall (82 × 37½ feet) . . . . which said garden is held of the Rt. Hon. Company by lease determining in January 1711, requested that the piece of ground

[1] Despatch, 1 July 1696, 28. [2] Consultations, 2 May 1698.

inclosed in the said bricke wall may be sold for ever to the intent that the tomb might be preserved.'

The petition was not granted; but it was resolved that the piece of ground should be appropriated to the use of the tomb as long as the heirs of Bartholomew Rodriguez kept the wall in repair. The ground was not to be alienated, sold, nor mortgaged; and if dilapidations were not made good, it was to revert to the Company.

In 1690 Governor Yale purchased Fort St. David and a semicircle of territory round it from its native owner. It at once became a large and important factory. A Chaplain was stationed there in 1692; but he did not remain very long. After his departure it became necessary for one of the Fort St. George Chaplains either to visit the station periodically or to take up his abode there. The former plan was chosen. Owing to the loss of the Vestry books of this period the only evidence of such visits is to be found in the Consultation Books of the Council; and as the Council only took notice of such visits as had some connection with their business, only three are recorded between 1692 and 1700. In 1695 [1] the opportunity of one of these visits by Richard Elliott was taken by the Council to send a large sum of money to the Deputy Governor of the new fort; and 12 armed peons were sent with him for safety. A similar visit was paid by Elliott at the close of the same year [2]; and his successor James Wendey paid a similar visit in 1699.[3] It can be hardly doubted that there were other visits between whiles, not connected with the business of the Council.

On the 16th Oct. 1696 Mr. Richard Elliott died. The Council recorded this Minute in their Consultation Book on the 30th October:—

'The Reverend Mr. Richard Elliott died and was interred on the 17th instant; he hath left his books to the Library and 250 pagodas to the Church. He hath been the instrument of great good in this place. Mr. Lewis hath not so firm a health that he can go through the necessary service of

[1] Consultations, 29 April 1695. [2] Do. 4 Dec. 1695.

[3] Do. 28 March 1699. This visit was ordered by the Council in accordance with a written request from Fort St. David.

the Church, and the frequent instruction of children and slaves which he performs both on Sundays and week days.'

This minute was sent to the Directors, who made a reference to Elliott in their next General Letter[1] :—.

'We are heartily sorry for the death of the worthy Mr. Elliott; but it behoves us always to submit to the Divine Will; we have elected another to assist Mr. Lewes at the usual salary etc. * —— * —— vizt: Mr. James Wendey, a person well recommended to us for his great virtue, sobriety and ministerial abilities.'

A stone with a Latin inscription marked his grave for over 100 years. William Urquhart saw it in 1809 and has preserved[2] the inscription for future ages; but the stone has long since disappeared.

'P.M.S. Ricardus Elliott, Theologus,
Collegii Regalis apud Cantabrigienses Socius Senior,
Et Ecclesiæ Divæ Mariæ in hac Madraspatam
Per Septem decem plus minus annos Pastor Fidelis.
Hanc vitam pro meliore commutavit
Decimo Septimo Octobris die 1696.
Mementote præpositorum vestrorum etc. . . . Heb. 13. 7.'

James Wendey's appointment was the last one made before the end of the century. It is worthy of notice that in January 1697–8 the Company resolved,—

'that for the future when any Chaplains shall be tendered to the Company's service they be directed to attend upon my Lord Bishop of London for his approbation.'

The wonder is that the rule was not made before. It was made now in deference to the public opinion stirred up by the letter of Dean Prideaux[3] on the ecclesiastical shortcomings of the old London merchants in India.

[1] Despatch, 26 Jan. 1696–7, para. 31.
[2] *Oriental Obituary*, ed. 1809, quoted by Mr. J. J. Cotton, I.C.S., in his *Monumental Inscriptions*.
[3] See next Chapter.

CHAPTER VI

A PERIOD OF CHANGES, 1693–1713

For some little time before 1693, the year in which the Company's charter had to be renewed, dissatisfaction with the Company's methods abroad had been growing. Streynsham Master, the dismissed Governor of Fort St. George, had a wide circle of friends and acquaintances, some of whom were powerful both in Church and State. It cannot be supposed that these would know much about the Company and its doings; but at all events they knew Master, and recognised in him a high principled gentleman of the best type; and they naturally concluded that there must be something wrong with the Company which could dismiss such a man from their employ. There were also in England several of the Company's Chaplains who had cause to complain of disrespect and want of consideration on the part of the Company and its servants abroad. Interlopers like Hamilton, who had been made to feel the force of the Company's chartered power in the East, told stories of the profligacy and wickedness of the Company's servants abroad from motives of envy, hatred and malice. Sir Josiah Child, the masterful Governor of the Company, whose motives and intentions were all good in their way, made enemies at home and abroad by the uncompromising character of his principles and opinions. So that when the time for renewing the charter arrived there was a ready made opposition to the Company's claims for consideration.

The opposition was composed of men who were smarting under some real or imaginary injustice—men who were so determined that they themselves did an injustice to the Company. The Company was accused of subordinating every

interest to that of trade profit; they were accused of doing little or nothing for the spiritual and intellectual good of their servants; and their servants abroad were accused of every kind of enormity.

It was very little known then—and it is very little known now—how careful the old London merchants were of the moral and religious well-being of those they employed. At Poplar, the headquarters of their shipping, where their principal warehouses and stores were situated, they built a Chapel and an almshouse for their aged and disabled work-people; and they appointed a Chaplain and other officials for the instruction and benefit of those of all ages dependent upon them. What they did abroad has been related. Probably they might have done more; what they actually did must not be forgotten now, as it was forgotten or ignored by the opposition which assailed them between 1690 and 1698. Enquiry can do their memories no harm. Indeed it only brings out fact upon fact which establishes or adds to their lasting credit and honour. From time to time errors of judgement were committed; but as a rule their policy was wise, patriotic, and Christian; and their actions generous, charitable, and religious.

Unfortunately their opponents had some warrant for their opposition. In spite of all the Company had done that was creditable, the opponents were able to point to actions which were unjustifiable. In 1693 the charter was renewed for five years. Between this time and 1698 every effort was made on both sides. But the opponents proved the stronger—or, as has been perhaps truly said,[1] bribed more heavily—and obtained a charter for themselves at the end of that period.

The loss of all rights by the London Company was not felt either at Poplar or in the factories in India, for the reason that a period of several years was granted to them wherein to settle their concerns. Before that period came to an end they amalgamated with the new English Company under the title of the United Company. There was some ill-feeling between the servants of the two Companies before the amalgamation was decided upon; but as soon as it was settled and

[1] Sir William Hunter's *History*, vol. ii. pp. 316–320.

accomplished trade and government went on as before, the only perceptible difference being that a still more enlightened liberality of sentiment adorned the new Board of Directors.

Among the manuscripts [1] preserved at the Lambeth Palace Library is a report on the state of the East India Factories by Dr. Humphrey Prideaux, Dean of Norwich, written from Norwich and dated March 1695. In this report it is stated

1. That the English [2] East India Company are possessed of Fort St. George and the City of Madras adjoining thereto, in which are 100,000 families; also the city and island of Bombay, in which are 50,000 families; also the Fort of St. David, 'exceedingly well situated both for health and trade,' with 'a good castle for defense,' in which are 50,000 families. That these 200,000 families represent a population of 1,000,000 souls, who are subject to such laws for life and goods as the Company by virtue of their charter shall think fit to impose upon them.

2. That this population is composed of Portuguese, Jews, Mahommedans and Gentoos. That whilst the Jews, Gentoos and Mahommedans have their temples, there is not so much as a chapel for the true religion of Jesus Christ in any of the settlements except at Fort St. George, 'where lately a Church hath been built for the Factory by the care and piety of Mr. Master, then President, without any help or countenance from the Company in order thereto.' That in other places the room they eat in contains their congregation. 'Nor is there the least care taken by the Company to propagate the Gospel among the natives, although it be their secular interest as well as their spiritual.'

3. That the Dutch do maintain about 30 Ministers for the converting of these poor infidels in their dominions—to each of which they allow an assistant to help them in catechising etc.—by whose labours they have converted many hundred thousand to the Christian Faith. That they have lately erected a college or university in Ceylon. That they have in that place 'above 80,000 converted Indians

[1] MS. number 933, i. ii.

[2] This word is not used as the title of the Company, but for the purpose of comparing the Company with their foreign rivals, the Dutch.

upon the Roll that are Communicants.' That they send Chaplains with their ships.

4. That the English East India Company are in these matters negligent, both at St. Helena, at their Factories and at sea.

Dean Prideaux made the following proposals :—

1. That at Madras, Bombay and Fort David [*sic*] there be a Church and school erected, * —— * —— *, where the inhabitants may be instructed in their own language.

2. That men of piety and prudence be found and encouraged to undertake the work under the protection of the English Government.

3. That a Seminary be erected in England for training such persons for the work.

4. That those to be thus trained be poor boys out of the Hospitals of London, whose fortunes can give them no temptation when trained to refuse the work ; or

5. That those to be thus trained be brought from India.

6. That counsel be taken with those that have resided in the Factories already.

7. That the Rules regulating these matters for the Dutch East India Company be obtained from Holland.

8. That similar laws be enacted in England compelling the East India Company to do the same as the Dutch.

9. That good and wise men be chosen in London for directing and carrying on this design.

Dr. Humphrey Prideaux had learned Arabic from Dr. Fell, and inherited from him his desire to propagate the Gospel. When Dr. Fell died, Prideaux became one of the champions of the Missionary cause. He seems to have sent his Minute to others besides the Archbishop of Canterbury; for the Bishop of Chester wrote to him approving of his proposed method, and earnestly wishing for men of zeal to set about the work.[1] The Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield pressed the scheme on the Company.[1] The Company left Prideaux' minute with the Archbishop of Canterbury to show to the King on the first favourable opportunity. They were not willing to go the whole length of the proposals ; but the opponents, who were seeking to take the place of the old Company, were ready to

[1] Sir William Hunter's *India of the Queen*, p. 245, ed. 1903.

promise anything which would assist them in their purpose. Both Companies were anxious to secure the good will of persons of such importance as those who were moving in the matter.

It may be objected against Dean Prideaux' report that statements 1 and 3 are exaggerations, and that number 4 is unjust and partly untrue. Doubtless these objections were made at the time. But there is equally no doubt that his report had a considerable influence on public opinion in England. The Directors were able to refer those who attacked their policy and practice to the condition attached to the appointment of Chaplains in 1692, a condition attached without any external influence being brought to bear on them. They could also represent that they had, without external pressure, caused the English Liturgy to be translated into Portuguese at Oxford and printed; and that they had despatched several hundreds of the new books to their Factories in 1694 and 1695. It was true that they had not erected any Chapels in their factories; but from the earliest times they had sanctioned the setting apart of a room in every factory for the performance of divine service, and had gone out of their way as a commercial Company to encourage amongst their servants abroad, both ashore and afloat, the regular observance of religious worship and duty; they had appointed schoolmasters to teach the European and Eurasian youth of the Fort settlement; but there was one charge which they could not reply to; they had done little towards the instruction of the natives under their rule in the doctrines of Christianity. They had done something; but they had made no such organized effort in the cause as seemed now to be demanded.

The 1698 Charter made provision for the Christian instruction of natives in the Company's service. It fell short of Robert Boyle's and Dr. Fell's design; but it was more or less in accordance with Dr. Prideaux'; and this obligation was actually binding upon the Company that traded under the 1698 charter till the alteration of the terms in 1813. The primary religious obligation was to maintain a Minister for every garrison and superior Factory in the East Indies; to provide and set apart a decent and convenient place for

divine service only in every such garrison and factory; and to take a Chaplain on board every ship sent on a voyage, which should be of the burthen of 500 tons or upwards, for such voyage. The charter stipulated that no such Minister should be sent until he should have been first approved of by the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Bishop of London; and it added, 'all which said Ministers, so to be sent, shall be entertained from time to time with all due respect.'

The Charter proceeded as follows:—

'All such Ministers shall be obliged to learn within one year after their arrival the Portuguese language, and shall apply themselves to learn the native language of the country where they shall reside, the better to enable them to instruct the Gentoos that shall be the servants or the slaves of the Company, or of their agents, in the Protestant Religion.

'In case of the death of any of the said Ministers, residing in the East Indies, the place of such Minister so dying shall be supplied by one of the Chaplains out of the next ships, that shall arrive at or near the place where such Minister shall happen to die.

'We further will and direct that the Company shall provide Schoolmasters in all the said garrisons and superior Factories where they shall be found necessary.'

With these provisions of the charter before him the reader will be able to understand why Kaye called the conversion of the Gentoos a 'great Parliamentary idea, provided for in the 1698 charter.'[1]

The religious change in the 1698 charter was in theory a very great one; but it was not a very great change in reality; for the old Company had had almost throughout the 17th century a Minister at all its chief Factories, and one for each of its principal ships. The principal alteration was this, that henceforth it was to consider that it had a religious and moral as well as a political and commercial duty towards all —European and Native alike—who lived under its protection, and subjected themselves to its rules.

Up to the end of the seventeenth century the Company

[1] Kaye's *Administration of the E.I. Co.*, 1853, p. 626.

had selected its Chaplains itself. If the recommendation was good, and the trial sermon satisfactory, the appointment was made, without any reference—as far as is known—to the Bishop of London or to the Archbishop of Canterbury. With the increased importance of the appointments came an increased care in the method of selection, and the abolition of the trial sermon.

Amongst the manuscripts in the Lambeth Palace Library[1] is a paper dated 1710 which shows that a correspondence was taking place between Lambeth and Leadenhall Street at the time on this subject. The following were the principal suggestions:—that each Chaplain should receive £100 per annum, payable in India, to commence from the sailing of the ship, and to continue till his return to England, together with the same allowances of diet as the old Company granted, together with a payment at the rate of £60 a year for services on the voyage, if the ship were over 500 tons burthen, and if he acted as Chaplain to the ship on the voyage. The policy of the United Company was, however, practically the policy of the Old Company, which had an experience of 100 years to fall back upon; and the old rules of payment and service were retained.

When the Charter of 1698 was granted to the new English Company, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London were asked by the Company to sanction a special prayer for use on board the Company's ships and in their various Factories abroad. The prayer and the imprimatur were as follows:—

'O Almighty and Most Merciful Lord God, Thou art the Sovereign Preserver of all that trust in Thee, and the Author of all spiritual and temporal blessings; Let Thy grace, we most humbly beseech Thee, be always present with Thy Servants the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies. Compass them with Thy favour as with a shield; prosper them in all their public undertakings; and make them successful in all their undertakings both by Sea and Land. Grant that they may prove a common blessing by the means of honour wealth and power

[1] MSS. 941; 95.

to our native country. Give to us and all Thy servants whom Thy Providence has placed in these remote parts of the world grace to discharge our duties with piety towards Thee our God, loyalty towards our King, fidelity and diligence towards those by whom we are employed, kindness and love towards one another, and sincere charity towards all men. That we adorning the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour in all things, these Indian nations among whom we dwell, beholding our good works, may be won over thereby to love our most holy religion, and to glorify Thee our Father, which art in Heaven. All this we beg for the sake of our Saviour Jesus Christ, to whom with Thee and the blessed Spirit be ascribed all honour, praise and dominion, now and for evermore. Amen.'

It was entitled 'A prayer for the Honourable and United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies to be used in their factories abroad.' The imprimatur ran thus:—

'We do conceive that this Prayer may be very proper to be used for the purpose expressed in the title of it.

'THO. CANTUAR.
'H. LONDON.

'December 29th 1698.'

The New Company was just as particular about the observance of religious duty as the Old Company; and this is not to be wondered at when it is known that such men as Streynsham Master and Thomas Papillon occupied places on the Directorate. The above prayer was communicated to the Commanders of ships as well as to the Agents of Factories in the year 1700.

'We have sent a printed form of prayer, approved by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London to be used daily aboard your ship.'

And two years later they wrote:—

'We strictly require you to keep up the worship of God on board your ship, . . . so that the Christian religion may not be scandalized among the Heathens' etc.

The new Company also appointed a Chaplain for its Factory at Metchlepatam, Mr. John Landon. When the two Companies combined, arrangements were made for the entertainment of the servants of both by the new United Company. One arrangement was that the Minister at Fort St. George, who belonged to the Old Company, should continue there; and that Mr. John Landon, who was in the service of the New Company, should remove to Fort St. David.[1] Eighteen months later the Council of Fort St. George reported to the Directors that Mr. Landon, the Minister, had arrived there, and would go to Fort St. David when well.[2] There had been no resident Chaplain at Fort St. David for 10 years. When the Merchants there heard at the beginning of 1704 that they were to have one, they wrote home and expressed their gratitude.[3] It was not till 1705 that Mr. Landon arrived at Fort St. David.[4] He remained there about two years, and then quitted the employ, and sailed from Madras for Batavia to arrange about a deceased brother's property. Mr. Landon's name is only once again found in the records. He left behind him at Fort St. David a number of books. On the 18 Jan. 1711-12 a catalogue of these was sent home to the Directors, and the belief expressed (para. 11) that the books belonged to the Company, and were purchased by the New Company for the use of their Minister. However this was not apparently the case; for the Company purchased the books, and they became the nucleus of the Fort St. David Library. In 1714 the Directors wrote out orders regarding their libraries :—

> 'We do likewise order that all our books in Fort St. David, as well those brought from Metchlepatam belonging to the New Company, as those we bought of Dr. Landen, be taken care of and preserved in the same manner.' [5]

In the Rent Roll of 1688 already referred to the parish is mentioned as the owner of three houses besides the hospital.

[1] Despatch to Fort St. George, March 1702, para. 39.
[2] Letter from Fort St. George, 5 Nov. 1703, para. 43.
[3] Letter from Fort St. David, 8 Feb. 1703-4, para. 13.
[4] Letter from Fort St. George, 1st Oct. 1705, para. 70.
[5] Despatch to Fort St. George, 12 Jan. 1714, para. 60. Mr. Landon took his D.C.L. degree at Oxford in 1709.

Two of these were in James Street, and one of them was next to the hospital itself. This one was not apparently intended as a dwelling house; it had no kitchens; it was probably connected with the hospital either as a dispensary, or a place for medical stores, or an office for the garrison chirurgeon, or for all three purposes together. When the hospital was sold to the Company and converted partly into a store and partly into a lodging for the junior merchants, the house next to it does not appear to have been included in the sale, but to have remained the property of the Vestry. It was of course difficult to put it to any domestic use without a kitchen and other necessary offices. The trustees therefore submitted the following petition in October 1701[1]:—

'The humble petition of the Ministers and Churchwardens of the parish of St. Mary's in Fort St. George, sheweth

'That the Church house both in the first building and in some additions made to it since hath stood the Church in a considerable sum of money, but is hardly tenantable for want of yard room for a kitchen, godowns, and other outhouses, necessary to render it a convenient dwelling.

'And it further sheweth that there is a piece of ground of the Rt. Hon. Company adjoining to the said house which might serve for the conveniencys afore mentioned, and is of little use to the Company, and stands separated from all other grounds and buildings of theirs by a very high wall with battlements, Wee therefore make it our humble request to your Honours &c. that you will be pleased to sell the said piece of ground to the Church, for which wee are willing to pay such a sum of money as the Chief Builders in the place (upon a survey taken of it) shall judge it to be worth, and we humbly conceive, that as your disposing of said ground will be of great advantage to the Church, so it will be no detriment to the Company; and your petitioners (as in duty bound) shall ever pray.'

The petition, dated the 3rd October 1701, was considered and disposed of on the 11th in the following resolution:—

'Messieurs Wright and Nairstall having viewed the ground and buildings adjoining to the colledge,[2] which the Ministers and Churchwardens petitioned us to be sold them in

[1] Consultations, 11 Oct. 1701. [2] See p. 132 of this Chapter.

order to make a house belonging to the Church tenantable, they report the value 75 pagodas, which is agreed to be sold them, and the Attorney Generall ordered to draw a conveyance accordingly.'

Mr. George Lewis was appointed to Fort St. George in 1692 and Mr. James Wendey in 1698. In 1706 they began to talk about returning home; so the Fort Council wrote on the 10 Feb. 1706-7 desiring 'a supply of ingenious and exemplary ministers.' A year later the Directors replied[1]:—'We shall think of your 29th paragraph about supplying Madras with Ministers.' But nothing was done till November 1708, when Mr. Robert Jones was selected from among four candidates.[2] He arrived at Fort St. George in July 1710; spent the following Christmastide at Fort St. David; and died at Fort St. George on the 12 Nov. 1711. The following extract from the Consultation Book records how it was he went to Fort St. David for Christmas; and it shows that the arrangement made for Church ministrations at that station was the usual one[3]:—

'They having wrote us from Fort St. David that it has been usual for us at the Festival times of the year to send them one of the ministers of this place, and Christmas being now approaching, they request that one may be sent. It is therefore agreed and ordered that Mr. Jones do proceed thither as soon as conveniently he can; and that the Paymaster do take care to fit him out for his journey accordingly.'

It is pleasant to notice the word 'usual' in the extract, and to be thus assured that the merchants of those days both desired and obtained the Church's sacraments at the Church's great festivals.

About a month before Mr. Jones' death the Council wrote home[4] that as Mr. George Lewis, the Minister, designed for England next year; they prayed to have a man of temper, moderate principles, and great sobriety; 'turbulent spirits will set all in a flame'; they continued, 'Mr. Lewis has

[1] Despatch, 7 April 1708, 104. [2] *Court Minutes*, 24 Nov. 1708.
[3] Consultations, 4 Dec. 1710.
[4] Letter of 1st Oct. 1711, paras. 61 and 62.

contributed to the prosperity of the place'; and they earnestly wished for such another. They added that Mr. Jones, the other Minister, was very sickly; and that they would be glad of a second Chaplain whom they could send to Fort St. David. A month later[1] they wrote announcing the death of Mr. Jones; that he had left little behind him; had paid what he owed the Company; and that Mr. Lewis intended home next year. In reply to this the Directors wrote[2]:—

'We are sorry to read the account of Mr. Robert Jones, deceased, our late Chaplain, . . . We should be glad if Mr. Lewis' occasions will give him leave to continue yet longer at Fort St. George; everybody that has been at Madras agrees with you in his great character.

'To supply one or both their places we have entertained Mr. William Stevenson and Mr. Charles Long, of whom we have a very good recommendation as to their learning, piety, and quiet tempers, each at the salary of £50 a year and £50 a year gratuity if they are found to deserve it. We hope they will fully answer your expectations. If either of them should not, but walk unworthy of their vocation, you are always clothed with power to remove the infection of their or any other's evil example; for it is to be understood they are entertained quamdiu se bene gesserint.

'Mr. Stephenson [*sic*] brings with him his family; the other is single. . . . If Mr. Lewis should stay, then Mr. Long is to be Chaplain at Fort St. David; or if he do not, and you can be supplied by one, let Mr. Long continue at Fort David, or at least often resort thither, . . .

'It is proper here to tell you that since the entire union of the two Companies, we act on the foot of the New Company's Charter, which directs that the Company shall constantly maintain in every of their garrisons and superior factories one Minister, and that all such Ministers as shall be sent to reside in India shall be obliged to learn' etc.—etc.—[3]

The Council of Fort St. George replied to this on the 16 Sept. 1713, para. 122, that Mr. Lewis, the Minister, would return to England by the next ships; that the two new Chaplains promised well, and that they would give them

[1] Letter of 22nd Dec. 1711, para. 89.
[2] Despatch, 2 Feb. 1712–13, para. 142-3-4.
[3] See p. 123 of this Chapter.

encouragement whilst they behaved well; that the service of Madras was too much for one, but that Mr. Long should visit St. David's once or twice a year; that they would obey the orders about Mr. Lewis' passage[1]; and would regard para. 144 about Ministers and Schoolmasters as the Charter directed.

On the 19 Jan. 1713–14 the Council again wrote home. In Paragraph 57 they mentioned that the Reverend Mr. Lewis was going home in the same ship that was taking the letter; and that the two Chaplains were still answering expectations. In Paragraph 97 they added that Mr. Lewis would give a particular account of all that passed at Fort St. David, when he and Mr. Stevenson and Mr. Warre (a Member of Council) went together to expostulate with Mr. Raworth the Deputy Governor. The whole story of Raworth's rebellion and mutiny has been reproduced from the Madras records by Wheeler.[2] It is only necessary to record here that both Lewis and Stevenson were made use of by the Governor as mediators,[3] and that their successful mediation was appreciated by the Directors, who wrote[4]:—

'We are well pleased with what you have done in putting an end to that unnatural mutiny and rebellion at Fort St. David, and preventing bloodshed as much as possible by trying by Mr. Warre, Mr. Lewis, and Mr. Stevenson's persuasions to prevail on Mr. Raworth to desist from his violent proceedings.'

The departure of Mr. George Lewis at the end of twenty-two years' service marks the close of a chapter in the ecclesiastical history of Fort St. George. He was appointed in 1692 when the old Company possessed a stringent monopoly of Oriental trade, and treated all interlopers and opponents, by virtue of a clause in their charter, with great harshness and severity. He ministered at the Fort and preached peace through the four years (1698–1702) of bitter animosity caused by the creation of a New Company; and for twelve

[1] He was to have the best cabin and all respect.
[2] *Madras in the Olden Time*, pp. 327–335.
[3] Consultations, 15 Oct. and 1 Nov. 1713.
[4] Despatch, 27 Oct. 1714, para. 2.

years after he greatly assisted to smooth over the difficulties and to soothe the strong personal feelings which that circumstance had caused in every Indian factory. The traveller Lockyer visited Fort St. George in 1703, and has left an account of the place as it was in George Lewis' time.[1] He says that the inner Fort or Citadel was in the middle of the English town, lying NNE and SSW (that is, parallel to the sea shore); that its eastern and western faces were 108 yards long, and its other faces were 100 yards long; that four large bastions made the corners of the citadel; and that on these and the curtains between were mounted 56 guns and a mortar; that there was a gate eastward, and another—the main guard gate—westward; and that both were guarded by soldiers. He describes the wall of the citadel and that which circumscribed the English town as composed of laterite. The outer wall possessed batteries, halfmoons, and flanking demi-bastions at proper distances, with 150 guns and 3 mortars.

The Fort was further protected by outworks—presumably lunettes to protect the gates—which had 32 more guns and 8 field pieces. He continues, 'the Black City, called Madras, and sometimes by the Moors Chennepatam, joins to the northward; and Maqua (muckwa) town, where the boatmen live, to the southward.' Having mentioned that the Black City was encompassed with a thick high brick wall, and fortified with points and bastions after the modern manner, he states that the prospect from the sea was most delightful, because of the great variety of fine public buildings, which he proceeds to describe. 'The Church,' he says, 'is a large pile of arched building, adorned with curious carved work, a stately altar, organs, a white copper candlestick, very large windows, which render it inferior to the Churches of London in nothing but bells, there being only one to mind sinners of devotion; though I've heard a contribution for a set was formerly remitted the Company.' Prayers were said twice a day. On Sundays religious worship was strictly observed, the bell beginning between 8 and 9. He then describes the Governor going to Church in state, between lines of soldiers, to the number of 200, drawn up between the Church and the

[1] Lockyer's *Account of Trade in India*, published 1711.

gate of the inner fort; the ladies and gentlemen awaiting his arrival in the churchyard, and following him within the sacred edifice, whilst the organ pealed out its welcome to him. He adds that every Sunday the country Protestants were catechised; that there was a Library containing books valued at £438; and that a free school was held in a large room under the Library. He then describes the College, 'a fine name for the old Hospital'[1] where the young Writers live; the New House or Soldiers' Lodging, in front of the main guard, running parallel to the west wall, and having a strong battery on the side against the river; the Hospital, adjoining the New House and to the northward of it, having a piazza and a paved Court before it; and finally the Governor's lodging. Lockyer says in his preface that he resided at Fort St. George for 20 months; it may be assumed therefore that he correctly describes what he saw. Having travelled round the factories he gives this opinion :—'At this time Madrass surpassed all other settlements in grandeur, so the orders of this Council are more regarded and punctually executed, and each member has a respect proportionately greater than others shewn him.' He then describes the beauties of the Governor's new garden—the favourite diversions of the European inhabitants—and finally a European funeral.

'When a person of note dies, his funeral is solemnized with the greatest magnificence. The Governor, Council, and the gentlemen of the town attend, nor are the fair sex wanting in their duty to their deceased countrymen. The executors are liberal in all respects to express a just concern for their friend; whence the ceremony is performed with all that is necessary for the interment of a Christian. The Burying place is at the further end of the Black Town, adorned with many stately tombs in honour of the Defunct. Some with lofty spires carved with different fancies after the Indian manner; others in a lower sphere gravely express the merits of the person for whose sake they were erected; and all in general have the most curious workmanship in India bestowed on them.'

The Records preserved at the India Office are made living

[1] In James Street.

pictures when read side by side with books of this kind. They make it a comparatively simple matter to picture George Lewis and his occupations in Church, school, library and burial ground. The free school he established himself. It was only a small institution; but at all events it was a beginning; and in making the beginning Mr. Lewis was trying to carry out the purpose for which he was specially sent to India. The Directors wrote on this subject thus [1]:—

'We understand several of your soldiers turn papists, whether by persuasion of their Indian wives or landladies, or for what other reason does not so well appear, and we hear that almost all the Black people about Madras are either Gentues or Papists. We are apprehensive that notwithstanding you keep the Priests at Madras under a pretty good decorum, yet there is no reliance upon the Papist inhabitants in time of danger, and that we can never reckon upon the true strength of the place being at our disposal, unless the natives are educated in the Protestant Religion. We have also been informed that Mr. Lewis has attempted a scheme to breed them thus up. We shall be glad to hear of any good method to bring about so noble a design, and would have you think of it, and put it into a proper shape, and send it with your opinion thereupon as soon as you can after receipt hereof. We would not grudge to be at some charge to effect it.'

The school was carried on by Mr. Lewis as long as he remained in the Fort; and for a short time after he left it was carried on by his successor. But his successor thought an English school for the children of the English soldiers was more required than a Portuguese school; so he established an English school (St. Mary's), and left the Portuguese teaching to the Danish missionaries.

Besides being an adept in the Portuguese language of the Coast Mr. George Lewis was also proficient in Persian, the Court language of the Mahommedan powers. For this reason he was employed by the Government to translate the Persian letters and perwannas which were frequently arriving at this period from Golcondah and Arcot.[2] And when it was decided to send an embassy with letters and presents to Shah

[1] Despatch, 7 April 1708, para. 112.
[2] Consultations, 8 Jan. 1708–9.

Allum the king of Golcondah, George Lewis was chosen to accompany [1] one of the merchants because of his exact knowledge of the Persian language. This embassy must have been an imposing affair. It included 600 coolies—carriers, tent lascars, etc.—50 armed peons, 44 personal and domestic servants, and a Surgeon. A special sum of money was granted for providing the Commissioners with suitable rich costumes; but the records do not further explain how the Padre appeared before the King.

It is very plain from the Consultation Books that George Lewis joined the merchants in their trading ventures at the Eastern ports, and that he was very successful in his speculations. He seems to have kept aloof from the home trade according to his bond promise, and thus retained the good opinion of the Directors, who were determined to retain the home trade—for which they paid so highly—as a monopoly of their own.

In the year 1711 during his incumbency the merchants of Madras began to be slack in their attendance at the Church services. Governor Harrison and the Council considered the matter and resolved to summon them to their presence and to expostulate with them. The Merchants, Factors and Writers were accordingly called in and 'severely checked by the President for not giving their attendance at divine service; and told for the future that whosoever shall be absent on Sundays from morning and evening service shall not only be fined 9 fanams to the Poor, but lie under the displeasure of this Board, and be treated accordingly.' [2]

Both James Wendey, who went home in 1709, and George Lewis were interested in the missionary designs of the Danish clergymen at Tranquebar. The former was invited to join the committee of the London S.P.C.K. on his return home; the latter was the first of a number of corresponding members in Madras. James Wendey brought to the committee a ten years' experience of the conditions under which the work was to be undertaken, to the great advantage of the cause. George Lewis gave the sanction of his official position to the work itself; and was without doubt instrumental in over-

[1] Consultations, 24 Jan. 1708–9. [2] Do. 2 Aug. 1711.

coming some local prejudice against it. The Society made use of him[1] and several subsequent Chaplains as mediums of communication between themselves and those they employed.

When the Archbishop of Canterbury invested the Reverend Richard Portman with authority to consecrate the Church in the Fort, he gave him authority also to consecrate the burial ground. This was in 1680. There is reason to believe, however, that this other act of consecration was never performed; and that the patch of ground to the north west of the Fort, which had been used as a burial ground since the occupation of the Fort by the English, was never solemnly set aside from all profane and common uses like the Church. It belonged to the Company, and for over 70 years was used by the Company for profit. They planted in it cocoa-nut palm trees, sold the produce annually, and credited the Company with the proceeds. Later on, when a staff of scavengers was engaged, and a number of buffaloes and carts purchased for the sanitary work of the Fort and town, they allowed the buffaloes and carts to be kept in the burial ground, for the reason of its convenient proximity. This went on until 1710, when the Ministers and Churchwardens gave in the following protest to the Council.

'The petition of the Ministers and Churchwardens of the Parish of St. Mary's in Fort St. George

'Humbly representeth,

'That whereas the monuments of the dead, and the ground where they are interred are held by most people in some measure sacred, and not lightly applied to any common or profane use, yet it is our misfortune that the English burying place in Fort St. George (where so many of our relations friends and acquaintances lie buried) is not only not kept in that decent and due manner it ought to be, but every day profaned and applied to the most vile and indecent uses; for since the year 1701 when an old building that stood in the burying place (and in which the buffaloes used to be shut up) was taken down to build lodgings for the soldiers at the gate adjoining, the tombs have been made use of for stables for the buffaloes, which is not only a thing very indecent, but also a very great damage to those buildings by having so

[1] Consultations, 9 June 1712.

many stakes drove into the pavement and into the walls to fasten the buffaloes to.

'Another occasion of our complaint on this subject is the coccanut trees standing in the burying place; the profit arising from them we know is inconsiderable, but the nuisance accruing to the place thereby we are sure is very great; for the Toddy men have people employed there all the day, and almost all the night, in drawing and selling of Toddy, so that we are obliged on their account to keep the gates always open both by day and by night.

'And then about eight o'clock at night after work is done, it is such a resort of basket makers, scavengers, people that look after the buffaloes, and other Pariahs, to drink Toddy, that all the Punch houses in Madras have not half the noise in them. And by reason of the gates lying open beggars and other vagabonds (who know not where to go) make use of the tombs to lie in. And what unclean uses the neighbours thereabouts do make of that place we forbear to tell.

'We hope that what is here urged, together with the reflection it must cast on our Church and Nation to have so little regard to the depositories of our dead, when all other Nations who live among us have so great a regard for theirs, will prevail with your Honours to take this matter into your consideration, and to find out some method to redress these abuses.

'And your petitioners, etc.

'George Lewis, } *Ministers.*
'Robert Jones, }
'Edward Barkham, } *Church*
'Francis Cooke, } *Wardens.*'

To us of this generation the report is nothing less than shocking; it did not seem to be so to the Fort St. George Government in 1710. The Paymaster and the Gunner were ordered to look out for a convenient piece of ground on which to build a shed for the buffaloes and the scavengers' carts, and to report to the Council what could be done to meet the complaint.[1]

They reported as follows[2]:—

'We have been to look out for a commodious place to put the buffaloes and carts that are in charge of the scavengers,

[1] Consultations, 22 March 1709–10.
[2] Do. 30 March 1710.

that they may not be offensive or prejudicial to the tombs in the burial place where they now stand; and we find there is a brick wall adjoining to the west side of the choultry where a shed may be built very proper for that use.'

The shed was built; and 'God's acre' was cleared of the scavengers, and their carts and their buffaloes; but no effort was made to get rid of the toddy trees, the toddy drawers and the toddy drinkers. But in 1716 Governor Harrison brought before the Council the case of a Church House which had been pulled down to make room for the new Hospital on the western side[1] of the Fort. He said that he had promised Mr. George Lewis that some compensation should be made; he therefore urged it upon their consideration before he himself retired.[2] It was therefore 'agreed that the Ministers and Churchwardens be desired to consider of something that will be agreeable to them as an equivalent.' On the 29th Nov. 1716 Mr. John Legg, who was a Member of Council and a Churchwarden also, reported that the Church House in question was valued in the Company's books at 411 pagodas. 'The Ministers and Churchwardens,' he added, 'cannot find anything to demand of the Board as an equivalent which will suit their convenience except a few toddy trees that are left standing in the burial place; therefore they submit the rest to the Board.'

After consideration it was agreed[3]:—

'That the old toddy trees in the burial place, commonly called the Guava Garden, which are very much decayed, and bring in no more at present than 20 pagodas per annum be given and granted to the Church for ever; and that the sum of 300 pagodas be paid them out of cash in full of all demands for the house afore mentioned.'

When this was in due course reported to the Honourable Company, they wrote as follows[4]:—

'We remember some time ago the toddy trees at the Burial place was complained of, as it harboured and encouraged disorderly riots, and deserved to be suppressed.

[1] Inside the outer walls.
[2] Consultations, 23 July 1716.
[3] Do. 29 Nov. 1716.
[4] Despatch, 8 Jan. 1717–8, para. 56.

Let us know whether it be so, or to what uses the Church apply it; for they then were the complainers.'

It has been already noticed that the Burial ground was commonly called the Guava Garden; those of the Dutch had similar euphemistic names; it was as if the Europeans in India, among whom death came so often and so suddenly, rigorously put aside its memory and tried to blot out its very recollection by the use of another word for its home. The term Guava Garden was used by the natives to denominate the St. Mary's new Cemetery on the island long after the Europeans had ceased to use the term.

It is also noticeable that the Directors were not shocked at the report on the use to which the Burial ground was put any more than their servants at Fort St. George. They suspected the motives of those who were shocked—the Ministers and Churchwardens; they thought that their intention was to make a similar use of the ground and the trees, but to their own profit; and they asked for a report. The right feeling of respect for the resting places of the Christian dead was in those days with the minority. Public opinion on this point has been educated and has changed. Every care is now taken of such spots by the local Governments. In many places the European cemetery in India is one of the brightest spots in the station.[1]

One other change of importance must be noticed. When Dean Prideaux wrote his minute referred to above, he asked for this among other reforms, that the Chaplains should be treated with becoming respect. In the 17th century political and religious feelings ran sometimes deeply but sometimes in a shallow and noisy manner; and they were responsible for many ill formed judgments and ill natured expressions.

[1] Note.—In the old 'Guava Garden' were buried between 1680—(when the Registers begin)—and 1762—(when it ceased to be used as a burial ground)—no less than 3,900 bodies. Between 1640 and 1680 there were of course burials there, though they are not recorded. When the burial ground was built upon by the Government in the early nineties of the 19th century, the local history of Fort St. George was not so well known as it is now. The spot had not been used as a burial ground for 130 years. All but two of the monuments had been levelled, and the stones carried away. The very memory of its use had passed away. If the *History of Fort St. George* had been published ten years earlier, probably the ground would not have been built upon.

Simon Smithees was referred to by his political adversary Sambrooke in a letter to the Directors as 'that drunken Chaplain'; and the Directors neither asked for proof nor gave rebuke. Leslie was similarly reported against behind his back and recalled. Brideoake, the Oriental scholar, was called in the Court Minute Books a bad man without any justification. No words were too bad for John Evans, the Chaplain who was fortunate in his investments and ventures. Hook and Thompson were maligned and recalled. The injustice of these hard judgments was clear enough to the friends of the men themselves, amongst whom was Streynsham Master; and the injustice was made clear by them to Dean Prideaux before he championed their cause.[1] It needed only the official protest of the Archbishop of Canterbury to produce the necessary alteration of tone. Nothing could be more courteous and kindly than the tone adopted by the Directors towards the Chaplains from about 1720 to the end of their rule.

[1] Lambeth Palace Library MSS. 941; 95.

CHAPTER VII

FROM THE APPOINTMENT OF WILLIAM STEVENSON TO THE SURRENDER OF FORT ST. GEORGE, 1712–1746

On the 31st Oct. 1712 the Court of Directors considered the petition of the Rev. Charles Long, M.A. Student of Christ Church Oxford, to be appointed a Chaplain in their service abroad. The petition was backed by the recommendation of the Bishop of London and Sir Charles Hedges; but the consideration of it was postponed. On the 12th Nov. it was again read with four other petitions, namely Thomas Dillingham, M.A.; William Stevenson, Rector of Tasburgh Norfolk; Henry Gardiner, B.A., backed by Dr. Sherlock, Master of the Temple; and Samuel Briarcliffe, M.A. The Court had only two appointments to fill up; so they proceeded to ballot for two out of the five applicants. The greatest number of votes were given to William Stevenson; Charles Long came next; these two were accordingly appointed—Stevenson for Fort St. George; Long for Fort St. David if Lewis remained at Fort St. George, otherwise for Fort St. George as the colleague of Stevenson.

The appointment of William Stevenson marks an ecclesiastical epoch in the history of the Presidency. He was not a more able man than some of his predecessors, nor more distinguished as a scholar, nor more keenly alive to the importance of his work. Isaacson, Darley, Elliott and Brideoake were greater scholars; Elliott, James Wendey, and Lewis were more diligent parish workers; but Stevenson was more clear-headed and practical than any of them. He was able to see at once what was wanted parochially and in the mission field, and to explain his views very clearly to those at home. His practical character was at once recognised

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by the Fort St. George Council. Shortly after his arrival he was despatched to Fort St. David to act as a mediator between the Council and the Deputy Governor who had rebelled against their authority. In this undertaking George Lewis, a personal friend of the Deputy Governor, had failed. The march of events made Stevenson successful.

His colleague, Charles Long, was an earlier applicant for an appointment; he was an Oxford man and a Fellow of his college; but by the vote of the Court he was the junior of Stevenson. One cannot help seeing in what subsequently happened a natural trace of jealousy and resentment at Stevenson being in this manner placed over his head. Even if this ballot had not taken place Stevenson would have been, as far as one can judge from his personal character and gifts, the leader in all matters ecclesiastical and practical. Stevenson upset the parliamentary provision for the Christian teaching of the Portuguese and native inhabitants of the Company's territories. Under the orders of the Company George Lewis opened schools for these and ministered amongst them; Stevenson closed the schools and modified the ministrations. He arrived after the Danish missionaries had commenced their work on the Coast; he saw in them an agency better fitted for the purpose than the short service Chaplains of the period, who were constantly coming and going. In this matter he led the Vestry and the local Government. He left the Portuguese and the natives to the ministrations of the missionaries; and in the place of this work he set up a Charity School for British Eurasians only. The Danish missionaries received all the support he was capable of giving them; so that they described him as a man 'truly unwearied in spreading Christianity among the nations.'[1] Stevenson is the hero of Anderson.[2] Stevenson was the trusted correspondent of the S.P.C.K., to whom they confided their money, their hopes, and their policy; and to whom in return he gave sound practical advice on the best way of carrying out their designs. At the beginning of the 18th century there was, owing to political causes, a drawing

[1] Niecamp's *History of the Danish Mission*, p. 109.
[2] Anderson's *History of the Colonial Church*, 1856, p. 95.

together of the English Church and the Continental Protestants of Holland, Germany and Denmark. But this did not deceive Stevenson as to how far English priests and Lutheran ministers could work together in a common cause. His advice to the S.P.C.K. was not to mingle together in the mission field workers of different beliefs in such important matters as Christian doctrine and government.[1] So it was that the S.P.C.K. continued to employ Germans and Danes till they gave up the work in 1826, without making any very great effort to obtain missionaries among their own countrymen.[2] Stevenson's letter to the S.P.C.K. was greatly valued by the Society. It is printed in their first volume of Reports, and is quoted by Anderson. He was quite clear that the success or failure of the Society's venture in India depended at first upon the Fort St. George Chaplain. In this opinion he was probably correct. Stevenson did not hide from the Society his view of the great importance of pastoral work amongst Europeans abroad. He never led them to suppose that he regarded missionary work amongst the heathen as of more importance than his own. He could not write his views to his employers without an invitation to do so. But he could write his views to the Society which desired his advice and co-operation; and he did this probably in hope that they would be conveyed second hand to Leadenhall Street, and would in time bear fruit. This is what he wrote[3]:—

To Mr. Henry Newman, Secretary S.P.C.K.

'Sir, While the Hon. Society is employed in propagating the Christian religion among the Heathen, I know they are at the same time using their best endeavours to promote a true practical knowledge among those that already profess it; to which end, I believe, Sir, it would not conduce a little, that they solicit the Directors of the E. I. Company to send out Chaplains to their chief settlements in these parts, where they are wanted, I mean to Bombay, Fort St. David, and Bencoolen, in which places there are Romish Priests, and (as I hear) chapels too. And seeing Papists are reckoned a sort of

[1] His letter to the S.P.C.K. dated the 25 Aug. 1716.
[2] The required effort was chiefly financial.
[3] *Early S.P.C.K. Reports*, ed. 1718, Letter xx, dated Feb. 1714–5.

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Christians, even though they be idolaters, our poor people are easily drawn over to their wicked superstition; for they who have the least value for religion will be prevailed on to join in any kind of worship rather than have none at all.

'But, Sir, I need not lay before you the necessity and great advantages of what I propose; nor can the Directors themselves (to some of whom I shall write by this ship) have anything to object against it; for Charity obliges me to believe that they will sooner grudge any expense than a Minister's salary.

'It is said that they cannot find persons sufficiently qualified who will undertake to serve as Chaplains in the Factories above named; but that is a difficulty which I hope the honourable Society will take care to remove. I know there are but too many of the clergy who reckon preferment in this part of the world only a gentle kind of banishment; and therefore choose rather to starve almost upon twenty or thirty pound a year, where they can do but little good, than to live handsomely on two hundred pounds, where they may do a great deal. But for my part, I do not repent of leaving about one hundred a year to come hither, although I had a family to bring with me.

. . . .

'If one does meet with more difficulties than are usual, these are abundantly rewarded by the kind reception he meets with, after his arrival here in India; where, so far as I could ever observe or learn, the English are more regular in their conduct, more kind to their Ministers, and more hospitable to strangers, than in any other settlements abroad, or any parish at home; so that it must be a clergyman's own fault, if he does not meet with all the favour, respect, and encouragement, he can reasonably desire.

'Sir, I have enlarged (perhaps too much) on these particulars; but I thought the knowledge of them might help you to remove the prejudices, that the young clergy generally have against going to the East Indies.

'To conclude, Sir, if the Company sh^d^ happen to send more Chaplains abroad, I wish there may be none recommended to their choice, but those who, besides a sufficient stock of learning, (which our young Masters of Arts are not always provided with) and some knowledge of the world, have good characters as to their probity and temper. For though it be a very hard case that any of our Settlements sh^d^ be

without a Minister, I think it is still better so, than to have a vicious one; seeing the want of instruction may in some measure be supplied by good books; but no preaching can counter-balance the bad influence of a Minister's ill example.'

One of his first duties on arrival at the Fort was to preach a funeral sermon on the death of the eminent surgeon and scientist Edward Bulkeley.[1] His kindly appreciation of a greatly respected servant of the Company probably assisted his own popularity and advanced his own interest at Fort St. George. By means of his letters to the S.P.C.K. he greatly advanced his reputation as a clear-headed ecclesiastic among the members of the Society, some of whom were in a position to further his interests, at home. He was too ambitious not to take advantage of his opportunity. So he returned home in 1718. During the five years he was in the Company's service he established the St. Mary's Charity School; he was instrumental in recommending to English Churchmen the Tranquebar mission, and gaining their support through the S.P.C.K.; and he exercised a decided influence for good among the English residents at Fort St. George.

In the year 1711 was built the Egmore Redoubt. At the time it was not in any way connected with the design of the St. Mary's Charity School. But the course of time has brought them into such close connection[2] that the building of the Redoubt may be mentioned here. The Council wrote home to the Directors in 1711[3] to explain what they were doing, and mentioned that up to that time the building had cost Pagodas 925. The extracts only of these letters have

[1] The sermon is in the British Museum Library. Edward Bulkeley was by his own wish buried in the Physic Garden which he planted 500 yards west of the Fort. The monument remains, but not the garden. The inscription concludes thus:—'ne mireris, viator, quod in horto ubi animum perpoliebat, corpus suum voluit reponi.'

[2] In 1789 the Redoubt was given up for use as a school; on the Redoubt itself was built a house for the Principal; on the east front of it was built later a substantial lodging for the boys of the Military Male Asylum. In 1872 the Male Asylum was amalgamated with the Lawrence Asylum and removed to Ootacamund. In the same year the two Civil Orphan Asylums (Male and Female) were amalgamated with the St. Mary's Charity School, and removed to the old Redoubt.

[3] Letters 5 Jan. 1710-11, para. 46, and 4 Sept. 1711, para. 92.

been preserved. The extract of the second letter runs thus :—

'Built a Guard House near Egmore village in a convenient place ; the whole is a square with a ditch ; the wall is 134 feet on each side, the depth 8 feet, the ditch 16 feet broad at the top and 10 feet at the bottom ; the redoubt is faced with brick and cost Pags. 925 ; shall make in it a lodge for the soldiers and conveniences for recovering the sick.'

The further building of the soldiers' quarters and of what was apparently intended to be a convalescent hospital was entrusted to Mr. Fraser, a member of Council, who spent over these things more than Pags. 5500 in addition. The Council blamed Mr. Fraser, who gave the orders ; but the Directors blamed the Council.[1] Apart from the cost it must be admitted that a convalescent hospital in the open country, away from the insanitary surroundings of the overcrowded Fort was a necessity. From the military point of view the Redoubt was equally a necessity. When the advantages of the Hospital-Redoubt are duly weighed, and the excellent use to which the buildings have been put since 1789 duly considered, the great initial cost will be forgiven and forgotten.

Although the Directors had excused the Ministers and Church wardens from the payment of Pags. 50 a year for the upkeep of the Hospital, they still considered the hospital to be a charitable institution which must be partly kept up by the donations of those who used it. In 1711 it was found necessary to enlarge and rebuild it.[2] The rebuilding cost Pags. 7000. The Company gave Pags. 1500, and the rest was obtained by donations and by a small tax on the profits of the coast trade. The Council wrote home in 1712 to this intent [3] :—

'The new Hospital is near finished ; it will cost something more than was expected, being forced to rebuild the fortification wall to the river, timber being dearer than usual ; the subscription—we wrote 1500 pagodas for the Company—is well advanced, but shall always be kept afoot ; all profitable voyages to pay a sum certain ; the building is plain, uniform,

[1] Despatch, 2 Feb. 1712–13, para. 109.
[2] Consultations, 8 Oct. and 3 Nov. 1711. [3] Letter, 14 Oct. 1712, para. 121.

firm and useful and will hold 150 sick men; will cost about 7000 pagodas; shall credit the Company with all contributions in their general books.'

To this and other letters on the same subject the Company replied in 1714 thus[1]:—

'We have received the subscription for the said hospital, which you advise will be considerably increased in another year, and that you hope to get sufficient not only to reimburse our charge, but for a stock to maintain it and relieve the poor therein, which we take notice of here to preserve the remembrance of it.'

So long as the upkeep of the Hospital was dependent upon voluntary contributions, no doubt collections were made in the Church for its support, just as collections were made for the Poor and for the free school. There was no longer any closer connection than this between the Church and the Hospital; so it will not be necessary to mention it again.

In the course of the sixty years up to 1714 during which there was a resident Chaplain at Fort St. George, a valuable Library had gradually accumulated there. Lockyer spoke of it; and when his book was published the Directors were made aware of its value. They therefore wrote to make enquiry about it[2];—

'We understand that the Library in Fort St. George is worthy our notice, as consisting not only of a great number of books, but of a great many that are choice and valuable, John Dolben Esquire and Master Richard Elliot and others having made a present of their books (which were considerable) to the Library, besides other augmentations it hath lately received from the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. We therefore recommend the care of the Library to our President and Ministers,' etc.

'We order our Ministers to sort the said books into proper classes, and to take a catalogue of them to be kept in the Library, of which they shall deliver a Copy to our President and send a copy home to us; and we desire our President to order two of our servants together with our Ministers to

[1] Despatch, 27 Oct. 1714, para. 69.
[2] Do. 12 Jan. 1714–15, paras. 59 and 61.

examine the books by the catalogue once a year, that is to say, some few days before the Vestry is held, and make their report at the Vestry. It would be proper also to put our Chop[1] on the said books,' etc.

To this the Council replied[2] that they would remind the Chaplains to observe the Company's orders about the Libraries; adding that that at St David's had been much abused, but that they would preserve the remainder. The catalogue was made and sent in the course of the year 1716, being signed by both the Ministers, Stevenson and Long. The Directors very severely criticised the way in which the work had been done, and recommended that it should be done again. Judging from the catalogue they observed that the Library 'appears to be a confused irregular heap.'[3] The Council replied on the 17 Aug. 1717 that Stevenson and Long would send another catalogue of the Library. They also wrote on the 13 Jan. 1717–18 that they would refer the matter to Mr. Stevenson again. But no catalogue was sent. The Directors therefore wrote with some warmth on the subject[4]:—

'You tell us the 17th Aug. 1717 that the Ministers will send a catalogue of the Library, and in the letter of the 13th Jan. 1717–18 that you will refer that matter to Mr. Stevenson; though the whole is of no great concern, yet as it is a disobedience to our orders, we cant like it.

. . . .

'You make yourselves little by suffering such unjustifiable delays. Do they both think themselves too good to be at a little trouble when we desired it?'

At the beginning of 1718 William Stevenson obtained permission to resign and go home.[5] Charles Long was left to arrange the catalogue. Ill health not only prevented him from doing this, but also prevented him from performing his ministerial duties. The extract from the Consultation Book shows that the sickness was real and prolonged:—

[1] Our mark of ownership, our stamp. [2] Letter, 13 Sept. 1715, para. 103.
[3] Despatch, 25 Jan. 1716–17, para. 58. [4] Despatch, 17 Oct. 1718, para. 49.
[5] Consultations, 13 January 1717–18, and Letter, 22 Feb. 1717–18, 17.

'The Rev. Mr. Charles Long having been indisposed for several months so much that he has not been able to perform the duties of his office in Church, and not likely to recover his health and strength for a considerable time to come, we think it necessary during the continuance of his indisposition to keep up the public worship of God in the best manner we can. Ordered that Mr. John Turton read prayers in the Church twice every Sunday and that Mr. Thomas Dunster read a sermon out of Archbishop Tillotson's works every Sunday morning.'[1]

These gentlemen were to be paid at the rate of a Minister's allowance between them, £50 a year.[2]

In the following November[3] the President and Council sent a peremptory order to Mr. Long strictly enjoining him to regulate the Church Library in accordance with the wish of the Directors, and to prepare a catalogue of the books in that order in time to be sent by the January shipping. Long replied[4]:—

'I should have obeyed their commands before this time had I not been prevented by a long and severe fit of sickness. My ill state of health will not at present permit me to undertake the work therein prescribed; but as soon as I am perfectly recovered I shall place the books in the best order I can, and give you an exact catalogue as near to the form directed as possible.'

When the Council wrote home a fortnight later in reply to para. 58 of the Directors' 1717 despatch, they reported that Mr. Long on pretence of sickness had not drawn out a proper catalogue of the books as directed, though they had given him a fresh order lately.[5] The noticeable alteration of tone in writing of Long was due to the fact that he was suspected by the Directors of taking a part in the home trade. At the end of 1717 the Secret Committee at Leadenhall Street wrote out their suspicions to the Council, and ordered that all covenanted and free merchants, and especially Charles Long, 'to whom it is said consignments are made as a merchant,' should be warned to discover what they knew[6] of

[1] Consultations, 19 June 1718.
[2] Do. 30 June 1718.
[3] Do. 27 Nov. 1718.
[4] Do. 4 Dec. 1718.
[5] Letter, 18 Dec. 1718, 34.
[6] Consultations, 21 June 1718.

it. Probably the warmth and indignation of the Directors' despatch of Oct. 1718 already quoted were due more to this suspicion than to the incident of the library catalogue.

The first nine months of 1719 passed without any effort being made by Mr. Long to reduce the books and the list to order. The Council then wrote that they had frequently ordered the Minister to do what the Directors required, but that it was not done, and (they believed) not intended, and that they could do no more.[1] Before this letter arrived in London the Directors wrote[2];—

'By your letter it seems as if you thought Mr. Long's urging sickness as the cause of his not drawing out the Library catalogue was but pretended; have not you the remedy in your own hands? Is he to have £50 a year gratuity unless you think he deserves it?'

A year later[3] the Directors referred to the arrangement made during Long's illness in 1718, with some resentment; they could not forgive the offence—of which they had some proof—of home trading.

'We find in the list of Covenant servants a standing salary of £50 a year to two of them for reading divine service, and at the same time £100 a year allowed to the Chaplain, which we neither understand nor like. In time of real sickness such assistance is necessary; but by what appears the Chaplain had health enough, though not inclination to perform his duty; and in that case you should not forget that we entertain them at £50 a year salary and £50 gratuity if they are found to deserve it. Wherefore it seems but equitable to us that if a Chaplain would not do his duty, and was not really disabled by sickness, he ought to pay those that did it for him.'

But a year before this letter was written the Governor and Council had taken the matter into their own hands and suspended Mr. Long. In the early part of 1718 before the departure of Stevenson, Mr. Long married Elizabeth Brown, whose widowed mother had married a free merchant; he thus allied himself with a family of free merchants. He joined

[1] Letter, 10 Oct. 1719, 56. [2] Despatch, 3 Feb. 1719-20, 93.
[3] Despatch, 24 Feb. 1720-1, 63.

with them in their free trade ventures to Europe, and thus excited the suspicion and anger of the Directors. Apart from the impossibility of befriending anyone whom the Directors condemned, there was a local disinclination to befriend Charles Long. His marriage may have had something to do with this[1]; or his general disposition towards the local authorities. Anyway within two years of the marriage a new Chaplain arrived at the Fort, and the Council immediately devised a plan to get rid of Long.

The new Chaplain was Thomas Wendey.[2] He had embarked at London on the Van Sittart, which was wrecked on the 15th April 1719 upon the Isle of Maio[3]; he then embarked on a Danish ship at St. Jago, and was taken as far as Sadras; thence he went overland to Fort St. George and reported himself on the 10th January 1719–20 having been nearly a year on the voyage. On the following day the Council met and ordered Mr. Charles Long to go either by sea or land, whichever he pleased, to Fort St. David. When the order was conveyed to him he replied that he was Minister of Fort St. George, and should not go. Being summoned to the Council he repeated his refusal. The Council then read paragraphs 142 and 143 of the Despatch dated February 1711–12 and para. 87 of the Despatch dated 8 Jan. 1717–18, which ordered that when there were two Chaplains one was to go frequently or permanently to Fort St. David; they agreed to suspend Mr. Long for disobedience; and they ordered the Churchwardens, Benyon and Turton, to obtain the keys of the Church and library from Mr. Long and to deliver them to Mr. Thomas Wendey. They then reported what they had done to the Directors, who replied[4]:—

'We approve of your suspending Mr. Charles Long as mentioned in your 12th and 13th paragraphs of your letter of the 16 Jan. 1719–20 for his disobedience to you, and we hereby order you to send him home.'

Two months later the Directors wrote again with reference to something they had heard about Mr. Long unofficially[5]:—

[1] Wheeler's *Madras in the Olden Time*, pp. 297–300.
[2] *Court Minutes*, 19 Nov. 1718.
[3] One of the Cape Verde group.
[4] Despatch, 24 Feb. 1720–1, 64.
[5] Do. 26 April 1721.

'We understand Mr. Long hath exchanged his study for a Counting House and is turned Supracargo, which in all likelihood will bring a scandal upon his character, and give the natives and Roman Catholics a handle to depreciate the reputation of a Protestant Clergyman. Therefore let him stay no longer in India, but return to England, to keep the solemn promise made at his ordination.'

The new Chaplain lost no time in arranging the books and making a list of them. For this he was promptly rewarded by the Governor and Council with a palanquin allowance.[1] The reward, however, could not and did not hide the real cause of Long's dismissal, any more than the Company's assumed anxiety for the reputation of a clergyman; the real cause was that Mr. Long was mixed up with some commercial transaction with Europe, which was strictly forbidden.

When the Directors first sent out an order for the Chaplains to make a classified catalogue of the Library, and for two of their covenant servants to inspect it annually and report on its condition to the Vestry, they must have created some astonishment amongst the gentlemen of the Fort. It is true that the Directors did send out some of the books; but the bulk of them were the gift of residents in the settlement; so that it is likely enough the residents considered the library their own. It was not a matter of much importance whether the Company were the nominal owners of the Library, or the local Government, or the whole body of European residents in the station represented by the Vestry; for whoever owned it only owned it in trust for others; it would have been better to have left the library alone, and to have allowed the inhabitants of Fort St. George to catalogue it as they pleased.

An important question arose at the end of 1714. The widow of Mr. Edward Fleetwood, one of the Company's servants, died; she left the Council, the Ministers, and Churchwardens overseers of her will and guardians of her orphan children. The Council therefore wrote home to their honourable masters for direction[2]; they could not themselves refuse the trust; but they evidently felt that they ought not,

[1] Consultations, 30 April 1720. [2] Letter, 12 Feb. 1714-5, para. 58.

as the governing body of the settlement, to be made private use of in that way. The Directors replied as follows[1]:—

'In answer to Paragraph 58 touching Mrs. Fleetwood's making you the Council with the Minister and Churchwardens her executors, we say, so far as it is an act of charity to her poor orphans you have done well to give them your protection and assistance, and to appoint two of your number to act with the Minister and Churchwardens; but we shall never enjoin you further in any the like cases than to afford your advice and countenance; nor can we think it proper that our affairs should be in the least hindered, or suffer by such bequests as very likely they may, if they should be frequent, or the deceased's concerns proved intricate and the accounts voluminous. The Minister and Churchwardens at Fort St. George have acquired a great reputation by their prudent and just management of deceased's effects, and of the Poor's Stock. The place is much obliged to the Reverend Mr. Lewis on that account. Let it be your care from time to time to see that the present and all future Ministers and Churchwardens deserve by their good management the same good character.'

To this the Council replied[2] that they would not in the future be executors or trustees for the estates of deceased persons for the reasons mentioned in Paragraph 107; but that they would be ready to advise such as are trustees; they added that they gave every encouragement to the Ministers and Churchwardens; and expressed a decided opinion that few deserved Mr. Lewis' high character.

There can be no doubt that the Directors in the above Despatch gave encouragement and authority to the Minister and Churchwardens to accept the trusteeship of estates for charitable purposes. They were not a properly constituted body to hold property; but it was extremely convenient that they should be made use of as if they were. The work was imposed upon them by the Government, and was faithfully executed for nearly ninety years.

The year 1717 saw some alterations in the property of the Vestry held for Church and school purposes. They owned a house in James Street, and had purchased a small piece of

[1] Despatch, 15 Feb. 1715-6, para. 107. [2] Letter, 9 Oct. 1716, para. 91.

ground by it, on which to erect the necessary domestic offices to make it habitable. In this year the Council found it necessary to increase the size of their warehouses. They therefore purchased the three adjoining houses, together with the piece of ground sold to the Vestry in 1701, and largely increased their store accommodation. The Vestry then petitioned that Jearsey House, which had been purchased by the Company, instead of being pulled down and replaced by a newer and better house, should be handed over to them for their educational purposes. The Directors were referred to; the transfer was permitted; and the conveyance was duly signed [1]; but the Vestry had to repay to the Company 100 pagodas out of the compensation money which they received for the house pulled down to make room for the hospital.

In the same year the local Government had a new clock made for the cupola of the inner fort. When it was finished they were of opinion that the old Fort bell on which the clock struck was too small for the purpose. The Churchwardens thereupon offered the use of the Church bell on condition of having one of the same weight returned to them when it could be procured from England, or of having the value paid them.[2] Their offer was accepted; and the Church bell was moved to the Fort House.

Before the end of the year 1720 the Deputy Governor and Council of Fort St. David expressed a desire that Mr. Wendey should go and reside with them a little while; and the Fort St. George Council agreed that he should be allowed to go as soon as the weather permitted.[3]

After hearing of Mr. Long's suspension the Directors did not wait very long before appointing a successor. They wrote [4]

'We have entertained [5] the Reverend Mr. William Leake to be one of our Chaplains at Fort St. George at the usual salary of £50 a year and £50 gratuity if he shall be found to deserve it; having thereby two Chaplains we direct that sometimes the one and sometimes the other do reside at Fort St. David; that so the Europeans there who are numerous,

[1] Consultations, 4 and 18 Nov. 1717. [2] Do. 16 Dec. 1717.
[3] Do. 3 Nov. 1720. [4] Despatch, 26 April 1721, para. 42.
[5] *Court Minutes*, 14 and 21 April 1721.

including the military, may not want to be often put in mind of their duty to God, their neighbour and themselves.'

Mr. Leeke arrived at Fort St. George in the following December; and was sent to Fort St. David. The Council wrote home[1] reporting his arrival, and added that Mr. Jennings, the Deputy Governor of Fort St. David, liked him.

The records of the period do not show that Mr. Wendey took any prominent part in the establishment of the Mission at Madras, of which hereafter; but they show him to have been very much occupied with the newly established Church Charity School in the Fort, with his duties as trustee of the estates of deceased inhabitants, as well as with his ordinary Ministerial duties. The Directors wrote out about the estate of Mr. Peter Pereira, which the Minister and Churchwardens were administering for the benefit of the widow, in 1720.[2] At the end of 1721 the Governor Francis Hastings died, leaving Wendey one of the executors of his will. He had to get in the estate, and settle the late Governor's very complicated affairs.[3] This he did within three months of the Governor's death, repaying to the Company's Cash Chest not only the sum due, but also interest on it up to the date of repayment.[4] The other executor was Mr. John Hastings, the Governor's brother in England, who was also residuary legatee. He applied to the Directors that Mr. Wendey might be assisted in his work. The Directors wrote[5] at once to their new Governor and Council, requiring their help, 'the rather because the late President had made over his whole estate to secure the Company's debt first.'

In 1721 the Directors wrote out objecting to Wendey's palankeen allowance, and ordered it to be discontinued. As a matter of fact it had been discontinued before the objection was made; and the Council wrote[6] in reply to that effect. Very probably the Council had been overwhelmed with applications from other officials for a like allowance; and had felt obliged either to rescind their order, or allow palankeens for every member of Council and senior merchant.

[1] Letter, 3 Feb. 1721–22, para. 113.
[2] Despatch, 30 March 1720.
[3] *History of Fort St. George*, pp. 144–5.
[4] Letter, 22 Sept. 1722, 47.
[5] Despatch, 14 Feb. 1722–3, 95.
[6] Letter, 17 Jan. 1722–3, 74.

As soon as the Ministers and Churchwardens were constituted the official trustees of the estates of the local orphans, they found it necessary to appoint attorneys in England to receive their remittances and to pay the school bills and other expenses of the orphans undergoing education. The first attorneys appointed were three former Chaplains, George Lewis, James Wendey, and Dr. John Landon. Many transactions are recorded in the Consultation Books at this period of the remission of money by the trustees at Madras to their agents in London. Charles Long paid in money on behalf of the Vestry for remission to them in Feb. 1721–2, which shows that he was not only still in Madras on that date, but also officially connected with the Vestry.[1] This official connection was probably arranged by the local authorities to last until the arrival of his successor.

The loss of the Vestry records during the French occupation of Fort St. George in 1746–9 makes it impossible to record anything more of Church affairs than what actually came before the Council. The Vestry had authority to deal with all matters connected with the Church, education, poor relief, guardianship of orphans and trust estates. The Council was so occupied with other and more important matters connected with commerce and politics, that they discouraged any reference to themselves on matters which the Vestry could manage without them. For instance, in 1715 William Stevenson represented to the Council,[2] in his own name, without the concurrence of his colleagues, Charles Long and the Churchwardens, several inconveniences which he was apprehensive might happen to the Church's stock by the Ministers and Churchwardens acting as executors to the estates of deceased persons. The Council treated his warning in a peculiar way. They said that this was a matter for the Vestry to decide; but to satisfy the scruples of Mr. Stevenson they would undertake that nothing should be done which was not approved by the Vestry. The reason of this attitude was this: the Governor and the members of Council were themselves members of the Vestry; and they attended the Vestry meetings more or less regularly; the resolutions and actions

[1] Consultations, 1 Feb. 1721–2. [2] Do. 25 Feb. 1714–5.

of the Vestry were therefore the resolutions and actions of the whole European Community including the Governor and Council.

So it happened that between 1715 and 1746 there were very few ecclesiastical matters before the Council. The visit of a Chaplain to Fort St. David was outside the jurisdiction of the Vestry; that involved the issuing of orders by the Governor to the Chaplain and the Paymaster; consequently we can discover from the Consultation Books when and how often such visits were made. William Leeke was ordered to Fort St. David against the approaching festival of Christmas in Dec. 1724.[1] Thomas Wendey petitioned to be allowed to resign the service in Nov. 1727.[2] The departure of Wendey and the death of Leeke are recorded; and consequent on these events 'it was agreed, in order for keeping up the worship of Almighty God, that Messieurs Randall Fowke and George Torriano do perform divine service in the Church, and that prayers be read twice on Sundays and a sermon in the morning and also prayers on Wednesdays and Fridays in the forenoon for which £50 a piece salary, being equivalent to what is allowed one Chaplain.'[3] The same public records show that this allowance was continued till Leeke's successor arrived in July 1729. When this successor died a year later, Messieurs Torriano and Bulkeley were appointed to read divine service with the same allowance as before[4]; the same records show that this allowance continued till the arrival of Robert Wynch in July 1731.

Besides these arrivals, departures, deaths and visits to out-stations there is nothing of ecclesiastical interest in the public records except in the list of inhabitants as entered in December 1726. Having written down the names of all the Company's servants, the other white inhabitants are divided into three classes, Protestants, Foreigners and Jews. Under the head of foreigners occur the names of Edward Bell and John Barker, the rest being Portuguese. The inference is that if a man were not a Protestant he was regarded in those days as a foreigner. It is also noticeable that the Englishwomen

[1] Consultations, 11 Dec. 1724.
[2] Do. 2 Nov. 1727.
[3] Do. 12 Feb. 1727–8.
[4] Do. 21 July 1730.

of the settlement, married, widows or maidens, are all denominated Mistress.

Thomas Wendey left Fort St. George for home in Jan. 1727–8; William Leeke died the following month. The Council sent a letter overland reporting that they were without a Chaplain. The Directors therefore wrote[1]:—

'We have on the return of the Reverend Mr. Wendey, your late Chaplain, and by advice overland of the death of the Reverend Mr. Leake, entertained[2] the Reverend Mr. Thomas Consett and the Reverend Mr. Jonathan Smedley to be our Chaplains at Fort St. George at the usual salaries and gratuities if found deserving; they proceed to you on the Eyles; and as we have a very good character of both these gentlemen, so we dont doubt but they will give satisfaction in their ministerial office, and merit your countenance and favour in particular, to which we recommend them.'

Thomas Consett took with him (with the permission of the Directors) a wife, three children, and a maidservant; and he received a special gratuity of £50 to enable him to provide fresh provisions for them and himself on the voyage. On the arrival of the Chaplains at Madras, Consett the senior of the two remained at Fort St. George, whilst Smedley was sent to Fort St. David. Consett found his quarters in the inner fort inconveniently small for three adults and three children. Governor Macrae himself proposed their enlargement; but as this could not be done without building on the top of them, the kindly proposal could not be carried out. Consett put up with the inconvenience for over four months, and then appealed to the Council for other quarters less cramped and inconvenient. The difficulty was that all the houses except those in the inner fort were private property; it was not in the power of the Council to allot a house to the Chaplain without also paying the rent. This they could not do without permission of the Directors; and so it was left to Consett either to hire a house for himself or to stay where he was. The records do not say which course he pursued.[3]

[1] Despatch, 21 Feb. 1728–9, 65.

[2] *Court Minutes*, Dec. 1728 and Jan. 1728–9.

[3] The letter of Consett to the Council is printed in Wheeler's *Madras*, p. 489, ed. 1882. Wheeler states that the Chaplains were generally bachelors; this is a mistake; he also states that Consett's family had increased since his arrival; this is also a mistake.

Whilst this request was being considered the Directors heard of the death of William Leeke; the authorities at Fort St. George showed their appreciation of him by writing a regretful eulogy of him to their honourable masters; and to this the Directors replied[1]:—

'We are sorry for the loss of so good a man as you describe Mr. Leake to have been; we heard it time enough to supply you with two gentlemen very well recommended to us, as we advised you last year, and shall be glad to find they answer our expectations.'

Both these new Chaplains, Consett and Smedley, died in the course of the year 1730, Consett at Fort St. George and Smedley at Fort St. David. They are the first examples in the history of the East India Company of the mistake of appointing elderly men to take up work in the tropics without previous acclimatisation. Consett took his degree at Cambridge in 1698, thirty years before the date of his appointment. Smedley took his degree at Dublin in 1695. Both had held important cures at home; Smedley was Dean of Killala from 1718–24, and Dean of Clogher from 1724–7. The attraction to India must have been the prospect of better health or more wealth or both. At all events their services were accepted; they arrived on the Coromandel Coast in the middle of 1729; and both died within a year of arrival, Dean Smedley first.

At the beginning of the following year the Directors wrote[2]:—

'We are sorry for the death of Mr. Smedley, and have chosen Mr. Robert Wynch to succeed him, who takes his passage upon the George; he bears a very good character here, and we hope he will behave himself so in his station with you as to merit your countenance and favour upon all occasions, his salary and gratuity is to commence at the time of his arrival,' etc.

Shortly afterwards the news of Mr. Consett's death reached the Directors. They referred to it in their next General Letter to Fort St. George thus[3]:—

[1] Despatch, 23 Jan. 1729–30, 69. [2] Do. 12 Feb. 1730–1, para. 57.
[3] Do. 11 Feb. 1731–2, para. 78.

'The death of Mr. Consett, your Chaplain, is very much regretted, as it deprived you some time of the regular preaching of the gospel; but we have supplied Mr. Smedley's place by sending to your assistance the Reverend Mr. Wynch last year, and on the Prince of Orange comes the Reverend Mr. Howard; and having so good characters of both those gentlemen, we don't doubt but their arrival will be agreeable to you.'

Robert Wynch was entertained in October 1730, and was given a gratuity of £50,[1] a larger sum than had been given to any Chaplain before him except Consett, who was favoured for a special reason. One of the Company's servants in the Bay at the beginning of the century was a George Wynch. Possibly Robert was the son of George, and was reaping the reward of his father's faithful service; but no evidence has been found of this, nor indeed of Robert's identity; for he was not a graduate of any British or Irish University. Eden Howard apparently received no gratuity.[2]

During a vacancy in the office of Chaplain the gentlemen appointed to conduct divine service were usually the Churchwardens. These also administered the various funds, took charge of the orphans and the library, relieved the poor, and made the annual returns from the register book of sacred offices for the information of the Directors. Sometimes they officiated at funerals; but as a rule they left this work for the Clerk.

Wynch arrived at the Fort in July 1731 and was in sole charge for a year. When Eden Howard arrived in August 1732 the Governor and Council ordered Wynch to Fort St. David.[3] Here he remained till the end of the year. At the beginning of 1735 Wynch returned to England on private business.[4] Having finished his business, he applied to the Directors to be allowed to return to Fort St. George; but stipulated that he should return to the place as he left it, that is, as Senior Chaplain. The Directors agreed and wrote thus [5]:—

'The Reverend Mr. Wynch having desired to return as

[1] *Court Minutes*, 15 Dec. 1730. [2] Do. 26 Jan. 1730-1.
[3] Consultations, 14 Aug. 1732, and Letter, 28 Aug. 1732, 79.
[4] Do. 23 Jan. 1734-5. [5] Despatch, 12 Dec. 1735, 23.

Chief Chaplain, we have granted his request; but as he came to England on his own private affairs, his salary must not commence till he arrives at Fort St. George.'

The following month the Directors acknowledged the receipt of Mr. Howard's copy of the Register Books for 1734 in these terms [1]:—

'Mr. Howard the Chaplain sent the Church Register under a cover directed to the Secretary; but for the future it must be enclosed in your packet to us, and mentioned in the list; the Clergy must not be suffered to act independent of the State.'

Wynch and Howard were together at Fort St. George from July 1736 till November 1742. The only incident on record during this period is the application of Wynch for house allowance in lieu of the lodgings which were occupied by others. The application was granted [2] on the ground that all the lodgings in the Fort [3] were taken up by the covenanted servants, and that it had been usual for one of the Chaplains to be furnished with lodgings by the Company. Wynch was on very friendly terms with a member of Council named Francis Rous, a brother of Sir William Rous the head of the Suffolk family of that name. Rous died in 1738, and Wynch married the widow [4] in the following year. She died at Fort St. George in 1741.

In 1738 Wynch applied to the Directors to be allowed to proceed to the Bay as Chaplain. Fort St. George was still the most important settlement of the Company in the East; the request, therefore, strengthens the supposition that he had a family connection with Bengal, and that George Wynch of the Company's Bengal service was his father. The Directors permitted the transfer, but ordered that he should remain at Fort St. George till a vacancy occurred.[5] This did not take place till 1742. The Directors then wrote [6]:—

'We have appointed the Rev. Mr. James Field to be one of your Chaplains; but Mr. Wynch must have his option

[1] Despatch, 23 Jan. 1735-6, 79.
[2] Consultations, 21 Sept. 1737.
[3] That is, the inner fort.
[4] Mistress Margaret Rous.
[5] Despatch, Jan. 1738-9.
[6] *Court Minutes*, 9 and 11 Feb. 1742-3. Despatch, 2 March 1742-3, 6.

whether he will be Chaplain at your place or Bengal; and in case he chooses the Bay, or Mr. Howard is come for England, Mr. Field must officiate at your place; but otherwise he is to be one of our Chaplains in Bengal.'

The newly appointed Chaplain and the Company's letter arrived in August 1743. Wynch at once applied to the Council to be allowed to avail himself of the Company's indulgence and to proceed to the Bay.[1] Permission was granted and he went. Eden Howard had already gone home.[2] And so James Field was left alone at Fort St. George. Robert Wynch died at Fort William in 1748.[3] He left no direct descendants; but Alexander Wynch, the Merchant Governor of Fort St. George, whose descendants have adorned various departments of the public service in the Presidency of Madras from the middle of the 18th century to the present day, was his nephew.

James Field officiated at Fort St. George a little more than two years, when he died.[4] On his death the Council accepted the offer of William Johnson and Samuel Affleck to conduct divine service on the usual terms.[5] Both were in the service of the Company; the former being Churchwarden and a Member of Council. This arrangement continued for nearly a year, until the Fort was delivered up to the French. But the inhabitants were not left entirely without a minister; it happened that H.M.S. Preston had brought out a Chaplain, the Reverend Richard Dixie, in 1745. For nearly 12 months he officiated as Chaplain of St. Mary's in addition to his work as a naval Chaplain. He was the first of a long series of naval Chaplains to work among the Company's servants; many of them exchanged into the Company's service.

Owing to the increase of the French garrison at Pondicherry, and the presence of a French fleet there and at Mauritius, an English fleet was sent to the eastern seas. It was under the command of Admiral Barnet; and it arrived at the end of 1744. The presence of the fleet in the Madras roads made it necessary either to enlarge the hospital, or to

[1] Consultations, 29 Aug. 1743. [2] Do. 15 Sept. 1742.
[3] Hyde's *Parochial Annals of Bengal*, pp. 97–8.
[4] Consultations, 2 Oct. 1745. [5] Do. 7 Oct. 1745.

build another, or to take some other course. After much discussion the granary on the island was given up for the purpose of a naval hospital.[1] There were many sick among the sailors; Admiral Barnet himself died at Fort St. David on the 29th April 1746. He did not live to see Fort St. George surrendered.

The death of James Field made it necessary to appoint another or two more Chaplains. The Company had in their service a Chaplain named Francis Fordyce who had been appointed to St. Helena in 1735,[2] and at his own request had been transferred to Fort Marlborough, Bencoolen, six years later. At the end of 1745 he petitioned to be sent to Fort St. George,[3] on the ground of his having been several years at Bencoolen. The Directors granted the petition, and appointed Richard Rider to be Chaplain at Fort Marlborough in his place.[4] A little later they appointed Rider to be joint Chaplain with Fordyce at Fort St. George[5]; and they wrote to the Council there informing them of the arrangements.[6] This letter was delayed on its voyage, owing to the difficulty of getting past the French cruisers. When it did arrive Fort St. George had been in the hands of the French some months, and the seat of the Company's government had been transferred to Fort St. David. Fordyce arrived in March 1747; and the Company's July letter at about the same time. When the Council replied to this they said[7] that they had entertained the Rev. Mr. Francis Fordyce from the 1st April, and would entertain the Rev. Mr. Richard Rider when he arrived.

The Directors were of course very vexed at the loss of Fort St. George; they excluded all members of the Madras Council from any share in the government of Fort St. David. They also regarded their engagements with their covenanted servants at Fort St. George as at an end. Having appointed Fordyce and Rider to Fort St. George, they thought it necessary to write to the Council at Fort St. David thus[8]:—

[1] Consultations, 1 and 4 Jan. 1744–5.
[2] *Court Minutes*, 30 Oct. and 12 Nov. 1735.
[3] Do. 19 Dec. 1745.
[4] Do. 24 May 1746.
[5] Do. 6 and 18 June 1746.
[6] Despatch, 9 July, 1746, 7.
[7] Letter, 2 May 1747, 89.
[8] Despatch, 24 July 1747, 17.

'We have appointed the Rev. Mr. Francis Fordyce and the Rev. Mr. Richard Rider to be our Chaplains at Madras; they must on arrival be entertained as such at your place, upon the usual terms of salary and other allowances.'

Mr. Fordyce remained at Fort St. David till he was suspended in 1750. He will be mentioned in a future chapter. Richard Rider stayed little more than six months there. He went to Bencoolen at the request of the Bencoolen Agent at the end of 1747.[1] On the rendition of Fort St. George in 1749 he was appointed to be Chaplain there; but he died at Batavia before the order reached him.[2]

[1] Letter, 13 Feb. 1747–8, 64. [2] Letter, 22 Feb. 1748–9, 45.

CHAPTER VIII

THE COMPANY AND THE SCHOOLS BEFORE 1746

THE interest of the Honourable Company in the education of the children of Fort St. George was no doubt primarily due to the trouble they feared from the preponderance of Roman Catholics among the inhabitants. As early as 1670 the Directors commenced to make enquiry about the education of the Fort children, and expressed themselves very strongly as to how they ought to be brought up. They did not, however, send a schoolmaster. Their letter arrived at Fort St. George at the end of 1671. Two years later there arrived from Batavia a Scotch preacher named Pringle, who had been shipped as a Chaplain by the Company and taken prisoner by the Dutch. Being willing to undertake the office of schoolmaster, the President and Council engaged his services, and wrote home to the Directors to sanction the appointment and fix the salary.

Pringle remained in the Fort a little more than a year and then returned home. One can easily imagine the kind of school he was called upon to teach. There were Portuguese Eurasians, British Eurasians, and the children of a few native subordinates for whom the Company considered themselves responsible; all making themselves understood to one another by means of a debased kind of Portuguese, which was the lingua franca of the Coast.

Four years after Pringle's return to England the Directors appointed Mr. Ralph Ord to be schoolmaster on the same salary—£50—as Pringle enjoyed. He arrived at Fort St. George in July 1678, and carried on the teaching work for four years. During this time he was permitted to undertake other work as well; so that in the Consultation Books of

the period his name is frequently met with. His chief occupation in 1680 and 1681 appears to have been the farming of the inland customs, which sometimes gave him a profit but sometimes did not. In August 1682 he asked to be relieved of the mastership. The Consultation Book records the incident thus [1] :—

'Mr. Ralph Ord having made it his request to the Agent &c to be dismissed from his imployment of Schoolmaster, inasmuch as he says he has a great family, lives out of town, and teaching the children is much prejudicial to his health, they have thought convenient to grant his request, and have entertained Mr. John Barker in that imploy, he being a man well qualified for it, and at the salary of 6 pagodas per mensem.'

John Barker was a freeman living in the Fort; in 1678 he was granted a liquor licence; he died in 1707, and it is recorded on his tombstone that he left behind him a widow. His widow died in 1719 aged 69. There is no reason to suppose that he was younger than she. When therefore he undertook the work of teaching he was between 30 and 40 years of age at least; and if a retired soldier he may have been more. His salary was just half that given to his predecessors.

A month later Ralph Ord sent in a petition to the Governor and Council asking to be entertained as a Factor. He mentioned his late request for dismissal from the school, 'really judging that the quality and number of the school bore no valuable consideration to the great charges the Hon. Company were at, which might be supplied for much less than the Hon. Company were pleased to allow him.' The Council found his request reasonable and modest,[2] and admitted him as a Factor pending the sanction of the Directors; they argued that as a Schoolmaster he 'had a very large salary, more than double what he has now'; that they could get a School teacher to do all that was necessary for half the amount they had paid him; that if they entertained Ord as a Factor, both the wages together would not amount to what

[1] Consultations, 1682 Aug. 21. Edited by A. T. Pringle.
[2] Do. 1682 Sept. 28. Ed. A. T. Pringle.

Ord had before, and the Company would have two servants instead of one; and finally that 'business in all places mightily increased, and able men were wanted.' This Council Consultation assists us to realise the kind of work the Schoolmaster had to do; the Council agreed with Ord that it did not require a specialist on £50 a year. And so John Barker began his new duties.

It is not possible to say, because of the imperfect character of the records at this period, how long this arrangement lasted; but it seems probable that it lasted till 1707, when Barker died. At first he occupied an independent position; but as the Vestry grew in importance, and the Charity Stock for the care and education of orphans increased, there is little doubt but that he became subject to the inspection of the Minister and Churchwardens, who found the bulk of the funds for the education of the children. After 1692 the Chaplains were given the special work of superintendence by the Directors, who insisted upon a knowledge of Portuguese and Tamil that they might properly perform the new duty. George Lewis was an enthusiastic educationist. Governor Pitt, who ruled from 1698 to 1709 asked him to give an opinion as to how the garrison might be brought to consist of all Protestants. He replied that the Company should erect two large Hospitals[1] or Nurseries, one for boys and one for girls, who should be educated and taught the Protestant religion.[2] This recommendation was sent to the Company, and their answer was that they would consider it. Lewis' idea was that these schools should be taught in Portuguese. He had both Prayer Books and Church catechisms in that language; he himself commenced the translation of portions of the Bible. Though his plan was not carried out by the Company, his work of translation was not a waste of time. He sent it in manuscript to Ziegenbalg and Grundler, the Danish Missionaries at Tranquebar, and it proved a happy inducement to them to translate the whole Bible into that language.[3] And when afterwards the Danish Missionaries

[1] *I.e.* hostels or boarding houses.
[2] Letter from Lewis to the Secretary S.P.C.K., Feb. 1712–3.
[3] S.P.C.K. reports, published 1718, Letter xi.

opened their Portuguese Schools at Tranquebar, Fort St. David and at Madras, it was this Bible which they put into the children's hands.

Mr. George Lewis' scheme did not, however, commend itself locally to the St. Mary's Vestry. There were three reasons against the establishment of such schools; (1) George Lewis was about to retire, after 21 years' service; his successor would probably not know Portuguese as he did, and would not therefore be able to superintend such schools; (2) the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge had already been in correspondence with the Company on the subject, and had already materially assisted the Danish Missionaries with funds to establish such schools; then why not leave that work to the S.P.C.K. Mission, being willing to undertake it? and (3) the Vestry considered that if they devoted their attention exclusively to British Eurasians and an English School for them, they would be doing as much as their funds would allow. Lewis went home and the Rev. William Stevenson succeeded him. On the 7th Oct. 1714 he wrote as follows to the Sec. S.P.C.K., London:—

'I know not what kind of charity School Mr. Lewis proposed to erect here; you intimated that it is to be such as the Missionaries founded at Tranquebar; but I must freely own I have little hopes of seeing such proposals made effectual, though nothing shall be wanting on my part to encourage so useful an undertaking.

'In the mean time I am using my best endeavours to get a charity school erected after the model of those in England, for the education of poor Protestant children who are maintained out of our Churches Stock; but being boarded with ignorant mean people, live in a straggling manner, and are far from reaping the lasting advantages of a regular education. It is such a school as this, I believe, Sir, that the Revd Mr. Lewis had in view; because he could not but be sensible how much it is wanted; and it is what we ought in the first case to procure; for although we are obliged to do good to all men as we have opportunity, we ought more especially to provide all things that are necessary both for the souls and bodies of those who are already of the Household of Faith.

'However, Sir, such a Charity School as this cannot in the least hinder the founding of another for Proselytes, that

may be gained over to our holy religion. For if the Fund we shall establish for the education of Europeans does more than answer the design of it, as it probably will, (there being seldom above twenty poor children in this place) the superplus could not be better bestowed than in the maintenance of such as shall hereafter be converted to the Christian Faith.'

Whilst this English school was being established, the Danish Missionaries were busy with their Portuguese Eurasian School at Tranquebar; and the Dutch Clergy at Palleacatta (Pulicat) and Nagapatnam (Negapatam) were equally busy with the establishment of Portuguese Schools at their stations.[1] The S.P.C.K. recommended to Mr. Grundler that he should send a selected Portuguese boy to the English school at Fort St. George to learn English with a view to his becoming useful to the Mission. This he did, writing thus to the S.P.C.K.; 'When I communicated this design to the worthy Mr. Stevenson, he answered in these terms, "I will freely take any boy you shall please to send out of your school into my house; I wonder you should talk of the charges; let them be what they will, take you no care, I will be responsible for them." Truly I am wonderfully obliged to that Reverend gentleman; he is very ready upon any occasion to assist me in the discharge of my function, and as a most faithful friend to support me with his counsel and good advice.'[1] The boy's name was Andrew. Later on Stevenson wrote; 'he is in good health, he diligently applies himself to the study of the English language, and gives content to us all.'[2]

The St. Mary's Charity School opened in December 1715 with 18 boys and 12 girls.[2] A Vestry meeting was held on the 28th October 1715; the scheme for its establishment, including the Rules for its management, were discussed and unanimously passed. The rules were entered in the Consultation Books of the Council, and have thus been preserved. The Vestry Books, in which they were also entered, disappeared during the occupation of the Fort by the French between 1746–9 and were never recovered. The rules were reproduced

[1] Letter from J. E. Grundler to the S.P.C.K., 28 Aug. 1715.
[2] Do. do. do. 16 Jan. 1715–6.

by Wheeler;[1] but as no history of the Madras Diocese can be considered complete without them, no apology is necessary for reproducing them here.

Rules for the better establishing and management of the Charity School, erected by the unanimous consent of the Vestry of St. Mary's parish in Fort St. George, on the 28th October 1715.

1. That in some convenient place within the English Town, there be proper accommodation made at first for 30 poor Protestant children, diet and education gratis.

2. That the scholars be trained up to a practical sense of religion, and be particularly instructed in the doctrines of the Church of England as by law established; and therefore no person shall be capable of being master of the school unless he be qualified according to the Acts of Parliament.

3. That the children, whether boys or girls, shall be taken into the school house at 5 years of age or thereabouts; and be put out to service or apprenticeships when they are about 12 years old. And while they are entertained in the school, the boys shall be taught to read, write, cast accounts, or what they may be further capable of, and the girls shall be instructed in reading and the necessary parts of housewifery.

4. That no scholar shall be taken in, nor any matter of moment transacted without the previous consent of the Honourable Governor for the time being.

5. That besides the Ministers and Churchwardens, who shall always be overseers of the Charity School, there be three others chosen yearly by the Vestry for the better management and more careful inspection of the affairs of the School; and in order thereunto, that the said overseers (or at least four of them) meet every week at the Vestry, and keep minutes of what they agree upon (if it be of any moment) to be laid before the Governor for his approbation.

6. That one of the overseers annually chosen by the Vestry shall at the same time be nominated Treasurer to the School, and be obliged to keep exact regular accounts of the School Stock and expenses; to be laid before every Vestry, and before the other overseers, or any of the contributors, when they require it, at any of their weekly meetings or otherwise.

7. That when the cash belonging to the School Stock shall

[1] *Madras in the Olden Time*, pp. 341–2, ed. 1882.

amount to the sum of 1000 pagodas, it shall be employed at sea, or let out at interest, by the Treasurer, with the advice of the rest of the overseers, and the consent of the Governor; and if the money cannot be thus employed, that it be lent to the Church at the usual interest.

8. That all Bonds, Deeds of Conveyance, and other writs for the use and benefit of the Charity School, shall be drawn and granted in the name of the Treasurer and other overseers for the time being.

9. That all Legacies, Gifts and Benefactions to the School, whether of money or other things, be duly entered by the Treasurer in a book to be kept for that purpose, which he shall sign at the foot of every page.

10. That no part of the School Stock shall on any pretence whatsoever be employed to any purpose, or in any manner, but what is agreeable to the original design and institution above expressed.

11. That in all difficult cases and disputes about any matter of consequence, the overseers shall make application to the Governor for calling a Vestry, wherein all such matters shall be determined by the majority of the contributors.

12. That the aforesaid articles shall be the standing rules and fundamental constitutions of the Charity School, according to which the Overseers shall always be obliged to act. And therefore that the said rules shall be registered in the beginning of a book, wherein the said Overseers shall enter all the subsequent orders and regulations which they may have occasion to make hereafter concerning the said school; provided that such subsequent orders shall be first approved by the Governor and Council for the time being.

The chief thing to be noticed about these rules is that the St. Mary's School was to be a Church of England School; that it was to be managed by a body of seven persons, consisting of the two Ministers, the two Churchwardens, and three Overseers elected by the Vestry; and that this body of managers could not act in matters of importance—such as investment, change of rule, and admission of children—without the previous consent of the Governor in Council.

In the following January William Stevenson wrote to Mr. Henry Newman, Secretary of the S.P.C.K., as follows[1]:—

[1] S.P.C.K. Reports, Part iii. published 1718, Letter xxxii.

'Having laid my former proposals before the Governor and Council, when they were at leisure to consider them, they readily approved of the design ; and I must do the Governor[1] that justice as to own that he was particularly forward in promoting it.

'We have already upwards of 30 children, who are not only cloathed and taught, but likewise maintained by a monthly collection that is made in the Church. The boys live in one apartment under the charge of a master and usher, and the girls in a separate house under the care of a mistress and assistant. Inclosed you have a copy of the proposal that I first offered to the Governor, the fundamental rules and orders agreed upon in a Vestry, and an account how the children are to employ their time. When we opened the School about two months ago, we had a fund of about £350 sterling by two legacies bequeathed to this foundation ; and we have had a generous contribution among the inhabitants since, which will increase the School Stock to £1000 sterling and upwards, of which the Governor gave £225, and others have contributed likewise very liberally ; so that there will be nothing wanting to make the School flourish, but a good spot of ground within the Fort or English Town to build a spacious school house or Hospital.[2] The only convenient place is a large old house called Jearsey House, which belongs to the Company, and is ready to tumble down. We have purposed to purchase it ; but the Governor hopes the Company will give it to the School, he having proposed this to them in the General Letter now sent home, wherein he has strenuously recommended our new foundation, and shewn them that they are likely to reap great and lasting advantages from it.

'If the Directors can be prevailed upon to give that house for building an Hospital, I do not doubt but within a very few years it will be in as flourishing a condition as any school in Europe, for it meets already with the greatest encouragement imaginable.'

The abstract of those paragraphs of the Letter which refer to the School is as follows[3] :—

'We have begun settling a Charity School for educating poor Protestant children, 30 of both sexes taken in, objects of charity, whose fathers or mothers were English ; we have

[1] Edward Harrison. [2] Hostel or boarding house.
[3] Letter, 26 Jan. 1715–6, 31–36.

followed the models of the London Schools; with a little of the Company's assistance we may advance yet further; the Rules and Orders are entered in the Consultation Book after the 9th January; we desire any additions thereto the Company may think proper.

'The fund begun on is a transfer from the Churches Stock of what was bequeathed for this purpose, also voluntary collections at the Church; with the like further helps we hope to defray the expense out of its [*i.e.* the fund's] improvement; the Churches Stock is sufficient for other uses; therefore the School will now be promoted, which has eased the Church of several children; the books of this Stock are regularly kept, and will be annually examined with the Churches [Stock] in October.

'We have hired a house for the School; we hope speedily to build a school and lodgings; if the Company would bestow Jearsey House, now too much decayed to be repaired, it is very conveniently placed for it; we pray to have some spelling books etc., and a bale of green serges for the children.

'We shall want an able Schoolmaster; we have entertained one John Mitchell, who came out a soldier on the Mary, but says he is in Orders and was Chaplain on the Falkland to Jamaica 1714, and has been in other men of war; but being bound for his brother who failed, chose to fly rather than lie in prison; [says he] will get some one to appear in his behalf; that Mr. Burchett, Secretary of the Admiralty, will give him a character; we pray the Company's directions about him; being assured he was a divine of the Church of England, we chose rather to make him a schoolmaster than bear arms; if any among the soldiers come who can write and cast accounts, they may be useful to the school and to the Company's affairs.

'Many advantages may be expected from this Charity School to the Company and to the place, as well by instructing ignorant youths as keeping them from the Popish Missionaries who spare no cost to seduce such, as the rendering them useful in trade and for serving as soldiers, which will save the cost of sending others from England.'

On the same date the Governor and Council wrote the following letter to the S.P.C.K., which having originated free schools for the poor in England, was greatly interested in the establishment of the first of such schools in India.[1]

[1] S.P.C.K. Reports, Part iii. published 1718, Letter xxxiii.

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'We have made a beginning this year in as handsome a manner as we could, to erect and establish a Charity School for the education of poor Protestant children, such as are born of mixed parents, and, for want of due care, have been very frequently seduced by the R.C. Missionaries in these parts, which by the grace of God, we hope to prevent in the future; and whenever you are pleased to signify to us which way we can be serviceable to the great and pious design you have in hand, we intreat you to believe, and persuade your worthy Society that we will very readily set about it.

(Signed) 'E. HARRISON, Prest. 'THO. FREDERICK. 'WM. JENNINGS. 'RICH. HORDEN. 'THOMAS COOKE. 'JOHN LEGG. 'JOS. COOKE. 'RANDALL FOWKE.'

William Jennings had been a few years before highly spoken of by the Danish Missionaries at Tranquebar as a kindly helper and benefactor.[1] The Society through its Secretary, Henry Newman, wrote and thanked him for his good will. His reply,[2] dated the 24th Jan. 1715–6, was to the effect that whilst he lived he would not be wanting in his endeavours to do all the good offices he was able to the Missionaries at Tranquebar. He then incidentally mentioned two other subjects:—

(i) that Mr. Stevenson had departed a day or two since to visit Fort St. David.

(ii) that a Charity School was last month set up for poor children; 'it is not yet in the method the Danes pursue at Tranquebar, there being only our soldiers' and other Europeans' poor children at present entertained, in number about 30 boys and girls.'

A year later the Directors replied to the letter of the Council as follows[3]:—

'As to the Charity School,—we are well pleased with the pious design and the generous contributions of the persons who did set it on foot. Mr. Newman, Secretary to the S.P.C.K., says he hath had a copy of the Rules and Orders laid down about it, the same with those entered in your

[1] S.P.C.K. Reports, Part iii. published 1718, Letters ii. and xv.
[2] Do. do. Letter xxxiv.
[3] Despatch, 25 Jan. 1716-7, paragraphs 53, 54.

Consultation Book. The Society have perused them, and can add nothing to them in general, but say, That those that drew them up can easily add any supplements which experience or convenience shall suggest to be necessary. There come by these ships several Primers, Spelling Books, Psalters, Catechisms and other religious books and small treatises, as also testaments for the use of the children, and some for the Schoolmaster, presented by that Society[1]; and in answer to your 33rd paragraph, we allow you to make use of a part of one of the Bales of green perpets sufficient to cloathe the said children.

'We have also considered the preceding paragraph relating to Jearsey House which you say must be pulled down, and that you modestly propose we should give the old materials and ground to erect thereon a school. We have been further told that the Church Stock, from which this Charity to the poor children is in part derived, did in some measure suffer by the pulling down of a house of theirs adjoining to the old Hospital, which could not be saved when the new Hospital was built, though it yielded them 40 or 50 pagodas a year; and that the granting Jearsey House would be esteemed as a compensation for that loss. On the whole matter, if these facts be really so, we consent that Jearsey House and ground be applied to this purpose[2]; or if that ground is wanted for any more necessary service of ours, then another piece of ground of ours, where you judge convenient.

'We have had no application made to us on behalf of Mr. John Mitchel, your present schoolmaster, appointed for that school; Mr. Newman hath promised to enquire about him, but hitherto hath given us no answer; he hath also been desired to speak to the Society, who will be glad if any proper person comes in their way, to recommend him to us.'

This letter arrived at Fort St. George at the beginning of August 1717. On the 17th of that month the Governor and Council wrote[3] to the Directors their gratitude for granting Jearsey House for the Charity School, adding that they had decided to build one on the Island, that they would sell Jearsey House and ground, and after deducting what the

[1] Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

[2] It was handed over to the Charity School Trustees. Consultations, 4 Nov. 1717, and 18 Nov. 1717; the trustees repaid 100 pags. of the compensation money for the house pulled down.

[3] Letter, 17 Aug. 1717, 48.

Church paid for their house pulled down for the Hospital, apply the rest to the Charity School use; that the foundation was then laying; that they were thankful for the liberty to cloathe the children in the Company's green perpetts; that they had determined to cloathe them in blue; and that the Trustees of the School had received the books sent by the S.P.C.K.

It will be remembered that the river on the west side of the Fort flowed for a short distance almost parallel to the sea shore. The position chosen for the St. Mary's Charity School was west of the Fort, outside it, and on the other side of the river. It was thus on the island and opposite to Jearsey House, where the children were temporarily provided for. A wooden bridge spanned the river at about the centre of the western face of the Fort. Here the school flourished from the time it was finished in 1719 till the building of stronger and more scientific defence works rendered it necessary to give up the site and move elsewhere. This occurred in 1746.

The building of the school took nearly two years. The Trustees were not cramped for room on the island as they would have been inside the walls of the Fort. There can be no doubt that they built liberally and largely, for the outlay was nearly 5000 pagodas; no record of the actual size and shape has come down to us; there exists only the appreciative opinion of the Governor and Council about it. They wrote to the Directors in 1719,[1] 'The Charity School will soon be finished; it is substantial and an ornament to the place.'

Before the reply of the Directors regarding compensation for a house pulled down to make room for the new hospital had reached Fort St. George, the Governor and Council had agreed upon the amount, and handed it over to the Treasurer of the Church Stock. This was on the 29th Nov. 1716. The Directors wrote and acquiesced in the award a year later[2]:—

'Your consultation of the 29th Nov. shews what recompence you gave the Church for their house pulled down when the Hospital was to be built; it seems to us rather with the most' [the letter here is illegible; some such words as these seem to be wanting,—' liberal good will towards the Church,'

[1] Letter, dated 29 July 1719, paragraph 33.
[2] Despatch, 8 Jan. 1717–8, paragraph 56.

—or 'reprehensible disregard for economy,'—] 'but since you have done it we acquiesce.'

When the St. Mary's School was opened John Mitchel was appointed Schoolmaster, as we have seen. Within six months of his appointment he was prosecuted in the Mayor's Court by the Commandant of the Garrison[1] for deluding his daughter by a pretended marriage, in which he acted both as priest and husband. The charge was proved; and the Mayor referred the case to the Council for whatever punishment it might see fit to order. The Council considered the case, and resolved to punish him as a soldier in the Company's service; for though he had pretended to be in Holy Orders, and they had accepted his statement, and promoted him to the post of Schoolmaster, he had not proved himself to be so. They therefore called upon him to find sureties for his good behaviour till opportunity offered for his deportation to England; and if he failed to find the sureties he was to be kept in confinement.[2] In the next General Letter[3] they reported their proceedings to the Directors; the abstract of their long paragraph appears thus 'John Mitchel proves a very ill man.'

Some of the methods of raising money for the School have been mentioned. The Consultation Book of the 2nd Nov. 1719 shows another method; but this probably was an unusual one. The Choultry Dubash, or interpreter, was brought to trial before the Council for extorting exorbitant fees from poor people. It was a bad case. He was sentenced to stand in the pillory, to be dismissed the Service, and to be fined 500 pagodas, one half of which was to be paid to the Charity School.[4] A year later one of the younger merchants, Charles Davers, died. He was the fourth son of Sir Robert Davers, Baronet. By his will he left 200 pagodas to the Charity School, and desired that Mr. Main—presumably the schoolmaster who succeeded Mitchel—and the Charity boys might attend him to the place of burial, preceding the corpse and singing a hymn.[5]

In 1740, when the Hon. Mr. Richard Benyon was Governor,

[1] Captain William How.
[2] Consultations, 12 June 1716.
[3] Letter, 9 Oct. 1716, 102.
[4] Consultations, 2 Nov. 1719.
[5] Do. 22 Sept. 1720.

the civil and military authorities of Fort St. George were alarmed by the increase of the French naval and military establishments at Pondicherry, and began to consider if the Fort was strong enough to resist attack. The weakness was mostly on the west side. There was only a slight wall between the bridge in the centre and Caldera Point; and there was no wall between the same bridge and Charles Point. It was decided to build a wall with a parapet where there was none; and to take in a portion of the island so as to make the west wall of the White Town a continuation of the west wall of the Black Town.[1] The scheme was not carried out; the fortifications would have been made thereby so extensive, that it would have been impossible to secure them against a large force without a large force; but from the moment the suggestion was made the school buildings were in danger.

In 1745, the Hon. Mr. Nicholas Morse[2] being Governor, a plan of enlargement was settled, which involved the alteration of the course of the river, so that the school which was built on its west bank became situated on its east bank. Here it was in the way of the intended new walls, and was doomed to destruction. The following extracts from the Consultation Books of the Council show what was done:—

'10 March 1746. The works to the westward being brought on pretty near to the school,——which it's time to begin to pull down, it's agreed that Messrs Eyre, Harris, and Smith[3] prepare a calculate of what the bricks and timber work of the school may produce to assist the Board in judging what Compensation to make for it.

'2 May 1746. Messrs Eyre, Harris, and Smith——report——the survey of the school house and the adjacent buildings on the island; with an annexed estimate of the present value of the materials of the former amounting to Pags. 3867; without making any allowances for the loss of ironwork, and damage to the timbers in pulling it down; or for the chunam, clay, water, and labour used in putting them together when the school was erected; which being in some measure to be considered, together with the great advantage

[1] Letters, 5th and 30th Sept. 1740. [2] A descendant of Oliver Cromwell.

[3] Mr. Joseph Smith; he was the Garrison Gunner, *i.e.* commandant of artillery, who succeeded Major Knipe as Garrison Engineer. He was the father of General Joseph Smith. Letters, 5 Sept. 1744 and 15 Feb. 1744–5.

of the brick materials lying so near to the works, we believe our Hon. Masters will not think we have made a bad bargain for them in allowing Pags. 4000 for the school, which it's now agreed to do, and which is near Pags. 1000 short of what it cost in those so much cheaper times when it was built.'

The trustees were obliged to accept the offer of the Government; they had no alternative; money was scarce; for the new fortifications were costing a great sum. The meanness of giving less than was due was the result of a low balance; but it might have been avoided by giving a portion of the just compensation at once, and leaving the rest to be paid at some future time.

The trustees had both boys and girls in the school. Their building on the island was specially arranged to accommodate both. They could not carry on their educational work inside the Fort except in two separate houses. Accordingly they bought one and hired another; and vacated the old building. They then asked the Council to accept a loan of Pags. 3000 at the temporary high rate of interest then existing, 'representing the extraordinary charge that the Charity School Stock is put to by their being obliged to buy one house in town and to hire another till a new school house can be built, which cannot be set about till the works now carrying on are compleated; together with the loss that Stock sustains by the difference between the compensation we have thought fit to make and what it [the school house] appears by their books to have cost.' The Council agreed to take the sum on the same terms as they had borrowed other monies for so long as they saw convenient.[1]

A month later the trustees sold the site of the school to the Government for Pags. 300.[2] Three months later the Fort and the walled town of Madraspatam were in the possession of the French.

We are in a position now to judge of the nature of the assistance given by the Company and the local Government in the establishment of the St. Mary's Charity School. The idea of a free mission school for the children of the Portuguese and

[1] Consultations, 7 May 1746. [2] Do. 9 June 1746.

others originated, as we shall see, with the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in London. Their intention was to carry it on by the Danish missionaries whom they supported. Mr. George Lewis fell in with this idea and discussed it with Ziegenbalg in 1710. On the arrival of William Stevenson a fresh scheme was put before the Vestry and approved, which provided a separate school for the British Eurasians; this was to be more under the control of the local Government, the contributors, and the Vestry than a mission school could have been.

The Company gave a site for the school; but it had nothing to do with the building or the upkeep of it. They intervened to safeguard the funds and to see them properly administered; and when the surrender of the Fort to the French placed the funds in jeopardy, they stepped in and used their authority for gathering together the scattered fragments. They liked the school to be a charity school; and they preferred that the charity should be that of their servants rather than of themselves; but they threw the cloak of their protection over the institution, commended it to the special care of the Governor and Council, and became the surety of its funds.

CHAPTER IX

THE COMPANY AND THE S.P.C.K. MISSION FROM 1710 TO 1750

The attitude of the Honourable Company towards early missionary effort has been very much misunderstood and misrepresented. The Directors had shown signs of anxiety forty years before the Danish missionaries arrived in India to establish schools for the children of the Portuguese Eurasians and of the Tamil natives in their employ. The difficulty of establishing them was the difficulty of language. The Chaplains were as a rule short service men, without any inducement to stay longer than their covenant obliged them. Sometimes it suited their convenience or pleasure to remain. Isaacson, Elliott and Lewis spent the best portions of their lives in the service of the Company; but as a rule they did not remain longer than the short term—3, 5 or 7 years—of their agreement. During their stay they had plenty to occupy them amongst their English-speaking parishioners, without attempting to learn the two necessary languages to enable them to carry out the wish of the Directors with regard to Portuguese and Tamil schools.

The Company's servants at Fort St. George agreed with the Chaplains that the kind of work the Directors contemplated, though it might be superintended, inspected, patronised (in the best sense of the word) and otherwise assisted by the Chaplains, would be best done by those specially qualified and specially trained to do it. They were not antagonistic to it; but with their local knowledge of the amount of work which the scheme meant, and of the amount of work which a European is capable of in a tropical climate, they judged, and they judged rightly, that if it was to be done as it ought to be

done, it should be done by a missionary specially set apart for it.

When the Danish missionaries arrived, the Company's servants needed no order from the Directors to receive them kindly and assist them. The S.P.C.K. pleaded with the Directors in their favour. But if this plea had never been passed on, they would still have been favoured. Some of the Company's servants may have needed some such fillip to their inclinations; but the majority and the seniors did not. They welcomed the missionaries as Christian teachers; whose influence would be all for good amongst all classes of the community they were called upon to rule over. It is generally supposed the Company was absolutely hostile to missionary work in its dependencies. As a matter of fact the Company was most liberal to the S.P.C.K. in the grant of free passages for its missionaries all through the 18th century, as well for goods of all kinds connected with their work. And according to the testimony of the Missionaries themselves, many servants of the Company in the Presidency of Madras were most kind in their reception and treatment of them, most liberal and sympathetic in furthering their designs.

In July 1706 two Missionaries for the conversion of the heathen arrived at the Danish settlement of Tranquebar; one was Henry Plütschau, a Dane, and the other Bartholomew Ziegenbalg who was born in the Kingdom of Saxony. Fenger [1] and Hough [2] have described how these men had the countenance and support of Christian IV., King of Denmark, and of a number of influential persons both in Denmark and in England. They were not kindly received by the Danish Governor; but they commenced their work with great zeal and enthusiasm. Their first reports were sent to the University of Halle and to Copenhagen. These proved to be so interesting, that they were before long translated into English. The translator dedicated his work to 'the honourable Corporation for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.' A second lot of reports was translated and similarly dedicated a few years later. These early reports of the successful commencement

[1] *History of the Tranquebar Mission*, 1863.
[2] *History of Christianity in India.*

of mission work in India aroused much interest in certain circles in England. In 1710 the S.P.G. sent the missionaries their first donation towards the necessary expenses and a box of books in Portuguese. But the S.P.G. were doing all that their limited funds would enable them to do in the plantations of America and the West Indies. They therefore proposed that this new mission in India should be assisted by the sister society the S.P.C.K.; and the obligation of assisting was accordingly transferred to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. So great was the interest in the new work in London that donations flowed in to the coffers of both societies until a complete transfer was effected, and both societies were able to supply some of the early needs of the mission. Meanwhile the early reports réached the Company's Chaplains at Poplar. At this place the Company had its docks, warehouses, and almshouses; here were congregated its shipping and marine subordinates; here it built a chapel between 1642 and 1654, and stationed a Chaplain for their comfort, instruction and benefit. In 1710 the Chaplain was Dr. Josiah Woodward. He read the reports of the Tranquebar missionaries, and was so impressed with them that he forwarded the reports to the Directors and wrote the following letter [1]:—

Popler, 21st Nov. 1710.'

(*after compliments*) 'It hath pleased God to dispose many of the heathen in the East Indies to receive the doctrine of Jesus Christ,—as the books herewith presented testify,—and several among us are contributing towards the cost of translating the New Testament into Portuguese to further the progress of that work.

'Since we cannot but see that the Blessed Gospel is with many in this nation a despised and derided thing, perhaps it may please God that we turn to the heathen.

'It may well pierce the hearts of Christians to think of such vast parts of the world yet lying under the power of the Prince of Darkness.

. . . .

'The Honourable Mr. Robert Boyle was duely convinced of the importance of the work, and left £100 in the Treasury of this Company for this pious use, being then one of the

[1] *East India Records, Home Series*, Miscellaneous, vol. 59.

Committee; which was afterwards repaid him because none followed his example. He also proposed that the one hundredth part of their gains should be appropriated to this sacred purpose; as the Dutch East India Company charge one per mille in all their sales on the buyer, as I have heard, for such uses.

'I shall therefore confide in the candour of this Honourable Committee to bear with me in this sincere discharge of my conscience; not only recommending but pressing this most sure and profitable sort of merchandize; which I do with the truest respect and affection in quality of their Honours'

'Most humble servant and Chaplain

'JOSIAH WOODWARD.'

In the same year that the Poplar Chaplain wrote this letter, Ziegenbalg paid a visit to the English Company's Forts and Factories on the Coromandel Coast, in order to see for himself if there was an opening for mission work in those places. He travelled by horseback and palanquin. He was received well by the Governor and the whole English Council at Fort St. David. At Fort St. George his reception was equally generous; he was lodged by Mr. George Lewis during his stay; he was kindly received by the gentlemen of the settlement, and was invited to dine at Government House.[1] When in due course he reported his impressions to the Professors at Halle, he wrote:—

'What an advantage this[2] would prove to the whole East India Company; what a blessing they would derive thereby in their commerce! . . . . . If they should be willing to entrust us with the management of so noble a charity, we wish they would be pleased to send some of their own country on so worthy an errand.

. . . . . .

'But then such persons must be pitched upon as with a generous resignation are ready to consecrate themselves entirely to the service of these deluded pagans. For such as in the ministration of spiritual things are hurried on by base and sinister ends, and come over to gather up some rarities in the heathen world, or to purchase a few uncertain riches, these would do no great feats among the eastern nations, who com-

[1] S.P.C.K. Reports, published 1718, Part ii. pp. 2 and 44.
[2] The establishment of a Tamil Mission.

monly estimate the Christian religion by the life and conduct that shines in its professors.'[1]

At the beginning of 1712 the S.P.C.K. sent a printing press to Tranquebar with type and paper; also silver and 250 volumes of the Portuguese New Testament, all of which were carried freight free by the Company.[2] At the same time they wrote to the Chaplain at St. Mary's, Fort St. George, to ask his opinion. He replied in October 1712:—

'The subject of your letter is of the greatest moment, and therefore not to be hastily and rashly answered. The missionaries at Tranquebar ought to be and must be encouraged. It is the first attempt the Protestants ever have made in that kind. We must not put out the smoaking flax. It would give our adversaries, the papists . . . . too much cause to triumph over us. I do design by the January ships to let the Society understand that I am a hearty well wisher to your honourable pious and Christian undertakings.'[3]

The same ship which took Lewis' letter to the S.P.C.K. took also one from Ziegenbalg to the same Society, in which he urged the Society to help the establishment of a mission in Madras—representing that there was hardly a city so fit and conveniently placed for the propagation of the Gospel of Christ in India; recommending the Society to write both to the Governor of Fort St. George and to the Directors of the Company and intreat their assistance.

Ziegenbalg renewed this earnest application the following January,[4] saying, 'If the Christian Governors would but espouse the matter more heartily, a considerable progress might then be made in a little while.' And George Lewis wrote by the same ship his opinion of mission work at some length.[5] He wondered that it was not commenced before. He believed the work might be done without attracting attention or opposition 'provided we do not sound a trumpet before us.' In the Mogul's dominions, he said, four fifths of the people are Gentoos, about whose religious opinions the Mogul never troubles himself; 'but to tamper with his Mussulmen is not safe.' He thought the beginning should be made at home,

[1] S.P.C.K. Reports, 1718, pp. 48–9. [2] Do. 1718, Part iii. Letters i. ii. iii.
[3] Do. Letter iv. [4] Do. Letter vi. [5] Do. Letter viii.

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'where there are some hundreds of thousands who live in the settlements under the jurisdiction of the Honourable Company.' 'Whilst we have so large a harvest at home, let us first gather in that, and then it will be time enough to look abroad.' 'The way to do it is to set up schools and hospitals,[1] and to train up the children to be Christians.'

Before the end of 1712 the S.P.C.K. had appealed to the Directors; and the Directors wrote to the Governor and Council as follows[2]:—

'We are further to acquaint you that the S.P.C.K., which is composed of many of the Reverend Bishops and other Clergy together with divers well disposed gentlemen have addressed to us on behalf of the Protestant missionaries at Tranquebar, to give them our protection and encouragement, and to permit them a Charity School or Schools at Madras. They find it difficult to get any English to undertake this service, but hope to be able to do it in another season. We have consented to their sending three persons by this shipping' (a Schoolmaster and two printers). . . . . . 'We recommend to you to give your countenance and protection to the said persons and other Protestant missionaries; and to supply them with a few of the Portuguese Liturgies as you find it necessary, and do whatever you think proper for the strengthening their hands in this difficult but honourable work of spreading the Gospel among the heathens. Some other requests they have made us; among the rest, that you should be empowered to prefer such as they shall instruct preferably to other natives; which will be time enough to pronounce upon, when we hear the success of their endeavours, and whether you have any and what objections thereto.

'We approve of your allowing Mr. Plütschau, the missionary, to take passage on our shipping without paying permission, ... the designs of the Society here are truly great and noble, and we would be willing to encourage the putting them in practise.'

To this letter of recommendation the Governor and Council at once replied[3]:—

'The design of erecting a Charity School or Schools at this place is a very noble one and worthy that Honourable Society

[1] Hostels or boarding schools. [2] Despatch, 2 Feb. 1712-3, 145.

[3] Letter, 16 Sept. 1713, 123. Wheeler says they replied about a year afterwards; this is a mistake.

for Promoting Christian Knowledge. We will not only be ready to adjust them with the power you have given us, but also with our purses; and do not doubt that many of your inhabitants will do the same, if the persons they send out are of tempers and qualifications fit for the undertaking. But we hope they will be English and not foreigners,' etc.

To this the Directors replied[1]:—

'The S.P.C.K. have represented to us that they have not as yet been able to prevail with any of the British nation to undertake the service of the Protestant Mission to the East Indies, but are advised to make an experiment of two Mallabar [*i.e.* Tamil] Christians educated at Tranquebar under the Danish missionaries, to be employed as masters of two Charity Schools, one to be kept at Fort St. George, and the other at Fort St. David, subject to the inspection of yourselves and direction of our Chaplain at Madras, and of the Deputy Governor and Council at Fort St. David, and desiring we would approve thereof, and protect the persons that shall be employed therein. We have promised to recommend this, as we hereby do to your consideration, and to give them all proper assistances for propagating the Protestant religion in the way they propose,' etc.

During the years 1713 and 1714 when this correspondence was being carried on between the Council and the Directors, the missionaries received great assistance from the advice and influence of Mr. Jennings, a member of the Fort St. George Government. In September 1714 he was appointed Agent at Vizagapatam; and Ziegenbalg wrote as follows to the S.P.C.K.[2]:—

'Mr. Jennings who has been a singular help to us went this month (from Fort St. George) to his Government at Vizagapatam. In the mean time we hope that the kindness of the Rev. Mr. Stevenson will supply the place of that gentleman; he having generously expressed himself to this purpose in one of his last letters,—"Mr. Jennings being absent, I promise to assist you in your affairs, and to do what I can to serve you; you may rely upon me for my good offices; I will not fail your expectation."'

[1] Despatch, 12 Jan. 1714–5, 57. [2] S.P.C.K. Reports, 1718, Letter xv.

The following month, October 1714, William Stevenson wrote to the S.P.C.K.,[1] and said :—

'Mr. Jennings is now gone to reside at Vizagapatam ; I have begun a correspondence with Mr. Ziegenbalg and Mr. Grundler, whom I shall always serve to the utmost of my power.'

He then proceeds to unfold his own plan of a Charity School at Fort St. George ; and adds that his scheme, which has the approval of the Vestry, need not in any way clash with the establishment of Charity Schools for proselytes by the Society's Missionaries ; and that if they are established, nothing shall be wanting on his part to encourage them.[2]

At the beginning of the year 1715 the Directors wrote in their annual general despatch as follows[3] :—

'Upon the earnest application of the S.P.C.K., as also the Danish Society for Promoting the Protestant Mission in India we have permitted Mr. Ziegenbalg to take passage on our shipping with his family and to carry with him 55 Rheams of paper, and several necessarys and books, and £1000 in silver and gold which he brought with him from Germany, free of charges as to us,' etc.

'We understand that this gold and silver is partly to pay off the debts incurred in India on account of the Mission, partly for the support and paying the salaries of the Missionaries and their dependents, and for building a printing house and foundry, with accommodations for the Charity Schools at Trincombar etc. We have told them we will write you to see that it be not applied to trade or merchandizing ; for if it should, we shall look upon it as perverting our charitable design in letting it go out, which will stop further favours of the like kind.'

In reply to this the Governor and Council of Fort St. George wrote on the 30th June 1715 that they would assist the Danish Missionaries when they desire it ; they added that they had received the silver, the paper, and the

[1] S.P.C.K. reports, 1718, Letter xvi.

[2] See page 190. Wheeler (page 318) has confused the St. Mary's Charity School founded by Stevenson with the Charity Schools promoted by the Missionaries, which were established a year later outside the Fort.

[3] Despatch, 15 Feb. 1714–5, 132 and 133.

£1000 sent freight free by the Company's ships,—'the employing of which to the best advantage will take off their thoughts from other matters.'

The wording of these paragraphs in the Despatch and the reply seem to show that the Directors at the time they wrote were not altogether sure of the whole-hearted missionary intention of the Missionaries themselves; but that the Council at Fort St. George had no doubt of it. It is but due to all parties to say that they understood one another better later on; and that the Missionaries by their tact, conciliation, and patent honesty of purpose, earned and for the next hundred years enjoyed the complete confidence of the Directors and of the Madras Government.

During this year (1715) the Governor of Fort St. George was in communication with the Danish Governor of Tranquebar, asking his opinion of the capability of the Danish Missionaries to carry out the design they had in view. He mentioned that the design was greatly favoured by the East India Company, by many peers of the realm, and by 'those too of considerable note.'[1] Mr. J. E. Grundler, the successor of Plütschau as companion helper of Ziegenbalg, wrote himself to Governor Harrison in October 1715,[2] informing him that 'the Venerable Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge was confident that with his assistance the propagation of the Gospel would succeed both at Madraspatam and at Devanapatnam.' This letter and the favourable opinion of the Governor of Tranquebar together seem to have decided the Fort St. George authorities to invite the Danish Missionaries to commence work in the Company's territories. And Governor Harrison wrote the following letter on the 25 Oct. 1715,[3] to Mr. Grundler:—

'I received your most acceptable letter, and shall always think myself happy if, in the discharge of my office, I can by any means promote your pious and laudable endeavours for propagating the Gospel of Christ either here or in any part of our territories. Moreover I am most ready to assist your endeavours whenever you intend to put your design in

[1] S.P.C.K. Reports, published 1718, Letter xxvi. [2] Do. do. Letter xxviii.
[3] Do. do. Letter xxix.

execution. If you had rather begin at Devanapatnam than here, our vice-Governor shall be ready to defend your cause. And whereas I have more than once understood by your worthy friend, Governor Hassius, that you are very well disposed, and most capable of this glorious undertaking, I cannot foresee any hindrances, unless what may arise from the dark superstition of those whom you have a mind to instruct in the Christian Faith. I promise that there shall be no impediment on my part. In the mean time till you certify us by what method you'll proceed in the execution of your design, I bid you farewell.'

Mr. Grundler wrote[1] by the next ship on the 16 Jan. 1715–6 to Mr. Henry Newman, Secretary of the S.P.C.K., recording this permission of the English Governor to commence a Charity School either at Madras or Devanapatnam. The same ship took to the Society a letter[2] from the Governor and Council, dated the 26 Jan. 1715–6 :—

'We take this opportunity to assure [the Society] that we are and will be ready on all occasions to patronize and encourage that noble and useful design, which they are pleased to recommend to us. We have offered our service to the Missionaries at Tranquebar more than once, promising them our utmost assistance, whenever they think fit to extend their Malabar[3] Schools to any of our settlements under this Presidency. We shall be glad to see some capable men of our own nation in Holy Orders that are not above undertaking a work of this nature; till that happens, we can see no great prospect of the success you propose in opening a glorious scene of the Christian Church in these parts.'

From which it will be seen that the Government of Fort St. George was not very sanguine of the success of the Danish Missionaries; but pledged themselves to assist the work and to put no obstacle in its way. The Council also reported to the Directors what they had done,[4] and received the following

[1] S.P.C.K. Reports, published 1718, Letter xxx. [2] Do. do. Letter xxxiii.

[3] The Danish Missionaries miscalled the natives of the Coromandel Coast by this name; they included in it all Tamil-speaking natives.

[4] In their letter 26 Jan. 1715–6, 36 they reported that Mr. Grundler had been promised the English assistance locally, but waited for further help from Europe.

paragraph of appreciation and approval in the next General Letter[1]:—

'We note what you write touching the assistance promised the Danish Missionaries in order to establish Malabar Schools at Madras and Fort David, and have seen copies of the letters that passed between our President and Mr. Grundler on that subject, which are to our satisfaction. When these schools can be well fixed, they may serve for many useful purposes in subordination to that greatest of all, the enlarging the Kingdom of our Lord and Saviour.'

Later on in the same despatch (para. 90) the Directors informed the Council that they had again permitted the liberty of sending silver and books to the Missionaries free of charge; and again commended their charitable purpose of evangelizing the heathen.

Governor Edward Harrison resigned office in January 1716–7, and was succeeded by Mr. Joseph Collet, who was as well affected towards the Missionaries and their work as his predecessor. Collet was a passenger on board the Jane, on which the S.P.C.K. had shipped a printer, a printing press and other things for the use of the Mission in 1711. When the ship was captured by the French off the coast of Brazil, it was Collet who ransomed the ship and the Mission property, the former on behalf of the Company, and the latter out of good will to the Missionaries.[2] It was now a year since Governor Harrison had issued his invitation to the Danish Missionaries to commence work within the Company's territory, either at Madras or Devanapatnam.[3] During the year Mr. Grundler was working out a scheme for submission to the Fort St. George Government. In the month of May 1717 he delivered this scheme to the new Governor, and the Governor laid it before the Council on the 27th of the month.[4] These were the proposals:—

'1. Whereas the slaves belonging to the English inhabitants of this place have a great many children, who have no

[1] Despatch, 25 Jan. 1716–17, 55.
[2] S.P.C.K. Reports, published 1718, Part iii. Letter ii.
[3] Madras was a native town outside Fort St. George, and Devanapatnam was a native town outside Fort St. David.
[4] Consultations, 27 May 1717.

manner of care taken of them, but are kept entirely ignorant of the Christian Religion; it is humbly proposed that a Charity school be erected, wherein such poor children shall be taught to read and write the Portuguese language (which is the only one they understand) and be fully instructed and trained upon practical knowledge of religion and the true doctrines of the Gospel.

'2. There being some reason to hope that the knowledge of Christianity may also be propagated amongst the Natives of this country, it is likewise proposed that a Malabar [*i.e.* Tamil] Charity School be erected in some convenient place in the Black Town, for instructing poor children in the principles of Religion, and to teach them to read, write, and cast accounts, after the way and manner used among the Malabars [*i.e.* the Tamils].

'3. That these two Schools be allowed the protection and patronage of the Honourable Governor and Council, without whose consent and approbation nothing of moment relating to the said Schools shall be transacted.

'4. That the immediate care and directions of the said two Schools shall be committed to two or more Trustees, to be appointed by the Honourable Governor for the time being.

'5. That leave be given to such Trustees to build or buy two School houses, one for the Portuguese School within the English town, and another for the Malabar School in the Black town.

'6. That what money gifts or legacies shall be given by charitable persons for the support of the said two Schools, or either of them, shall duly be registered by the Trustees in a book to be kept for that purpose.

'7. That the Trustees shall have power to make what particular orders and regulations shall be found necessary for the better management of the said two Schools, provided that the said regulations shall be approved of by the Honourable Governor and Council.'

A similar scheme was submitted by Mr. Grundler to the Deputy Governor and Council at Fort St. David, accepted, and put in operation. And when the Governor wrote to the Directors in August 1717 [1] he reported what had been done. The following is the official abstract of the paragraph:—

[1] Letter, 17 Aug. 1717, paragraph 49.

'The President at Fort St. David concerted with Mr. Grundler to erect a Charity School at Cuddalore,[1] since erected; one Master there teaches Malabar [Tamil], the second Portuguese; we have, at Mr. Grundler's coming since to Madras, permitted him to erect a Portuguese School in the White town and a Malabar School in the Black; and Trustees are appointed as per Consultation of the 27th May.'

The Consultation Book does not, unfortunately, give the names of the first Trustees; it merely says that it was agreed that liberty be given for erecting the two Charity Schools. The proposals themselves are so similar in character to the proposals for establishing the St. Mary's Charity School eighteen months before, especially in the subordination of the management to the Government of Fort St. George, that one cannot help thinking that Mr. Grundler took counsel with William Stevenson when he was drawing them up. Stevenson had the confidence of the Missionaries, and also of the local Government; it is hardly possible that he was not one of the first Trustees.

A few months before the opening of these schools Stevenson paid an official visit to Fort St. David; before returning to the Presidency he visited Tranquebar in order to see for himself what the Danish Missionaries were doing. He then wrote his justly celebrated letter to the S.P.C.K., on mission work in India, and how it ought to be carried on. He strongly recommended the Society's interest and help on the Mission, urging the Society to take up the work as its own, and to station one Missionary at Fort St. George, one at Fort St. David, and two at Tranquebar. The letter, which was dated the 27 December 1716, was issued by itself by the Society to its subscribers and was subsequently included in the next volume of Letters from Missionaries. It contains an able sketch of the character and religion of the Madrassi Hindu; and a grave warning that there should be no theological differences, such as lead up to controversies and misunderstandings, among the Missionaries. The work, as he saw it, was being done by Danish and German Lutherans. The Society contemplated the prosecution of the work by

[1] A town outside Fort St. David.

means of clergymen of the Church of England; and the local Government had already expressed itself in favour of English Missionaries. Stevenson foresaw that Lutherans and Anglicans could not in all matters work together; and warned the Society that their agents must be all of one mind. The Society would have liked to employ Anglican Missionaries only; but they were not to be obtained. The wave of missionary feeling which had swept over the University of Halle, and left its influence behind it, had not yet reached the Universities of Oxford or Cambridge or Dublin. In considering Stevenson's letter that was one difficulty the Society had to face. Another difficulty was that they were acting jointly with a foreign missionary body, which had practically originated the work. It was not in their power to take the whole matter into their hands, and place the Missionaries as Stevenson suggested. And so they continued to help as they had hitherto done for another ten years before they took the decisive step of taking one of the Danish Missionaries into their service.

Soon afterwards Stevenson returned to England; Ziegenbalg died in 1719; Grundler died in 1720; Charles Long, the Chaplain at Fort St. George, was not interested in the Mission schools; Schultze, who succeeded Grundler as head of the Danish mission at Tranquebar, was not intimately known to the members of the Fort St. George and Fort St. David Councils, like his predecessors. The Mission Schools, being without personal and sympathetic superintendence, began to languish. In 1726 Schultze, partly influenced by the fact that there was a want of unanimity between himself and his Danish brethren, set out from Tranquebar on a missionary journey to Cuddalore, Madras and Pulicat.[1] He was kindly received at Fort St. George by the Chaplain, William Leeke, and soon began to understand how his presence was required there. He obtained the permission of the Governor to resuscitate the Schools which had fallen into decay. He wrote to the S.P.C.K. representing that his presence was necessary at Madras; and asking them to obtain the necessary permission

[1] Fenger, p. 139 (ed. 1863).

of the Directors for him to reside there. The Directors made no difficulty; they wrote [1]:—

'At the desire of the S.P.C.K. that if any of the Danish Missionaries shall visit or reside at places under the Company's jurisdiction, our Governors and officers may give them their protection, We hereby consent thereunto, upon supposition that they behave themselves, respectfully and suitably to the Rules of the place.'

It was this move which decided the S.P.C.K. to support the East India Mission more systematically, and for that purpose to entertain Benjamin Schultze in their service. His work as an agent of the Society began in 1728, when with the permission of the Directors and the local Government he commenced to reside in Madras.

In 1729 the Rev. Mr. Schultze bought a house in Madras. In writing to the S.P.C.K. soon afterwards [2] he said, 'Captain Hanson's house was put up to auction and fell to my lott at 600 pagodas. The house has all the necessary conveniences which I could wish for; there is a great hall which serves for a place to meet in; beside my lodging my colleague has an apartment in the lesser house; and in the forepart of the same house is the Charity School.' Schultze wished for a remission of the yearly ground rent of 9 pagodas payable to the Company. He sent his request to the S.P.C.K. in London, who transmitted it to the Court of Directors. The request was granted.

Two years after beginning work in Madras the Directors wrote [3]:—

'We shall be glad to have a true account annually how the Danish Missions succeed, and how they (the Missionaries) behave themselves under our protection.'

To this the Governor and Council replied [4] that the Danish Missionaries were quiet and modest, and had 200

[1] Despatch, 14 Feb. 1727–8, paragraph 93.
[2] *East India Records, Home Series*, Miscellaneous, vol. 59.
[3] Despatch, 23 Jan. 1729–30, paragraph 62.
[4] Letter, dated 18 Jan. 1730–1, paragraph 81.

converts. The Directors expressed their pleasure at this report thus [1] :—

'The behaviour of the Danish Missionaries being so agreeable to their profession is pleasing to us; and we hope all in your several stations will give due countenance to their laudable undertaking.'

In the year 1732 the S.P.C.K. sent £1000 to the Minister and Churchwardens of St. Mary's, Fort St. George, and approached the Directors asking them to assist the Mission by permitting the building of a Church and two schools in Madras. The Directors thereupon wrote to the Governor and Council of Fort St. George for their opinion [2] :—

'The S.P.C.K. have represented to us that the Protestant Mission established at Madras has so far prospered, that a Church and two Schools,—one for boys and another for girls,—are exceedingly wanted for the further instruction of the converts to Christianity; but as we have not heard of late from you what success their mission has had, or whether the Missionaries' behaviour is suitable to their character, we are not able to form a judgement whether the said Church and Schools are necessary, and therefore desire an opinion as to that affair.'

To this the Governor and Council replied [3] that if the Missionaries applied to them for leave to build, they would indulge them. But no application to the Government of Fort St. George seems to have been made. Another year was wasted by Schultze writing home to the S.P.C.K. about his wants without expressing them locally. In the S.P.C.K. report of 1734 there is a letter from 'the British Missionaries at Fort St. George' expressing their need of a Church and Mission House at Madras. They say :—

'The British Mission at Fort St. George to this day is provided with only one common house, more fit for one man's lodging than for three people, which has hitherto served instead of a Church; but it is easy to imagine how great the inconveniences and hindrances must be, of inviting the

[1] Despatch, 11 Feb. 1731-2, paragraph 75.
[2] Do. 9 Feb. 1732-3, paragraph 39.
[3] Letter, dated 28 Aug. 1732, paragraph 97.

heathen to hear God's word preached in so straight an apartment; and therefore they need not urge the Society any further upon that head.'

The house was that bought by Schultze in 1729; and the three people were Schultze, John Sartorius, who joined him in 1730, and John Geister, who joined him in 1732.

In the S.P.C.K. Report of 1735 it is stated that the Society gave directions for the building of a Church 40 feet square, 'so contrived that it might be enlarged to such dimensions as should be found necessary.' The Court of Directors gave their free consent to the building of a Church and two schools at Madras in such a manner as the Governor of Fort St. George and the Society's agents shall agree, the buildings to be erected in the best manner; and they wrote out to the Governor, empowering him to grant a site for the proposed buildings. To this the Governor and Council replied that if the Protestant Missionaries applied, they would give them a proper spot of ground to build a Church on.[1] Application was accordingly made, and the buildings were erected. As to the site, the Rev. W. Taylor says[2]: 'the site of the Church, I was told by an aged native, was near the present Lighthouse,' that is, at the north eastern extremity of the present Fort glacis.

In 1735 Sartorius went to Fort St. David to see if there were any opening there for mission work. He was welcomed by Governor Hubbard, 'who was desirous to detain him.'[3] He remained there eight days; and as Governor Hubbard and other gentlemen of the settlement offered their assistance in the foundation of a new mission there, he decided to return. His determination was partly arrived at by the difficulty of working with Schultze, who was a keen and zealous Missionary, but somewhat autocratic and masterful in temperament. Accordingly Sartorius accompanied by Geister went to Cuddalore in 1737, and with the help of the gentry there purchased a house and compound for the purposes of the Mission. Sartorius was an able linguist and greatly respected by the English officials. He died in 1738, and was

[1] Letter, 30 Sept. 1735, paragraph 55.
[2] *Memoir of the Centenary of the Earliest Protestant Mission* (ed. 1847), p. 7.
[3] S.P.C.K. Report, 1736.

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buried in the English Burial Ground at Cuddalore, all the English gentlemen there attending his funeral. There is no doubt that he was instrumental in resuscitating the Charity Schools at Cuddalore, and in raising a Charity Stock, such as existed at Fort St. George, to support them.

John Kiernander arrived in 1740 to take the place of Sartorius, and experienced the same kindness and consideration at the hands of the English officials as his predecessor. He worked with Geister until 1743, when Schultze returned to Europe, broken down in health, and Geister went to Madras to take charge of the Mission there. Kiernander remained at Cuddalore till the capture of Fort St. David by the French in 1758, working without assistance from 1743 to 1747, assisted by J. C. Breithaupt from 1747 to 1749, and by G. H. Hüttemann from 1750 to 1758. He wrote to the S.P.C.K. in 1748 [1] that the Council, Chaplain and people of Fort St. David had shown them (the Missionaries) extraordinary kindness; that the Governor, Charles Floyer Esquire, had in all emergencies approved himself their friend; and that he had assured the Society that he would take their Protestant Mission under his protection and assist them all in his power. They had been similarly assisted by Governor Hinde.[2]

The Fort St. David Charity Stock, referred to above, was under the management of the Fort St. David Council, and was in the hands of one of its members. The following references to it in the Fort St. David Consultation Books shew that the Charity Schools there were being carried on according to the original constitutions of 1717. There is no reference to the Stock before the first date mentioned.

'*Oct.* 1741. Mr. Eyre produces the Charity Books, balance whereof being [*blank*]. Mr. Floyer is appointed to take charge of the same, and to take a bond payable on demand from Nellatambi for 700 pagodas in the name of the Deputy Governor and Council, at the rate of 12 per cent per annum, the interest whereof is to be paid monthly; and the remainder Mr. Floyer is to keep in his hands for the current expenses of the Charity School.

[1] S.P.C.K. Report, 1749. [2] S.P.C.K. Reports, 1743 to 1747.

'*July* 1745. Petty repairs in the Charity School in Cuddalore, mending doors and windows, hinges and hooks.

'*Nov.* 1746. Petty repairs to the Verandah of the Charity School in Cuddalore.

'*July* 1747. The Governor (Charles Floyer) produces the Charity Books for the year ending this day, balance being 839 pagodas; which he being desirous to quit himself of, Agreed that he make over the same to Mr. Alexander Wynch, the present Paymaster; that his bond be taken for 800 pagodas at 9 per cent; the odd money to remain in his hands to defray the expenses of the Charity School.

'*Oct.* 1748. Mr. Prince being appointed Paymaster, Mr. Wynch delivers in the Charity books, which it is ordered to deliver to Mr. Prince; that his bond be taken etc.'

Oct. 1749. Mr. Richard Prince delivers over to Mr. Wynch in the same terms as above.

There are only three more references at this period to mission concerns in the East India Company's records; as they are plain proofs of the liberal sentiments of the Company towards the Mission, they are here given.

1. Despatch 20 March 1744–5, Paragraph 6. 'The S.P.C.K. having represented there are some vacancies by the removal of missionaries on your coast, we have permitted the Rev. Mr. Klein and the Rev. Mr. Breithaupt to take passage upon this ship, in order to carry on that good work among the Indians.'

2. Despatch 12 January 1749–50. Free passages were granted to Messieurs Schwartz, Poltzenhagen and Hüttemann.

3. Fort St. David Consultations July 1751. Acknowledgment of the receipt of silver and chests of stationery for Mr. Kiernander and the Protestant Mission, sent out by the Company's ships.

In a volume of miscellaneous documents at the India Office[1] are preserved a number of letters written by Mr. Henry Newman, Secretary of the S.P.C.K., thanking the Court of Directors for benefits and kindnesses towards the Mission by sending money, books, stationery, printing requirements, printers and Missionaries, passage free, to Fort St. George; also beer, wine, cheeses, hour glasses, spectacles and other things. The letters bear the expression of 'thanks of the

[1] *Home Series*, Miscellaneous, vol. 59.

Society for the ready concession'—for 'the generous concession to all their requests'—and bear dates from December 1726 to January 1741; they are only a few that by some accident have been preserved, but they are enough to show the good will of the Company towards the Mission cause at the time, and the gratitude of the Society at the same time for the good will and the liberal kindness bestowed. Historians of mission work in India must no longer ignore these records of co-operation.

There is no doubt that the Danish Missionaries were useful to the Europeans both at Fort St. George and at Fort St. David. This was the case in some measure before 1750, when there were comparatively only a few Germans, Dutch and Danes in the garrisons. But after 1750 it was much more the case; for not only did the number of Germans, Dutch and Danes increase, but an enlistment in Switzerland of Swiss soldiers between 1749 and 1755 added to the number to whom the English Chaplains could not minister, and to whom the ministrations of the Danish and German clergymen were very acceptable. The Missionaries used the English Prayer Book and translations of it; they taught the English Catechism in their Schools.[1] When Fort St. George and Fort St. David were without Chaplains, their ministrations at baptisms, burials and occasionally at marriages were welcomed; and sometimes—perhaps this depended upon their linguistic capabilities—they officiated at the English Service on Sundays. On the death of Thomas Consett in 1730, Messieurs Torriano and Bulkeley received the allowance for reading divine service, and attending to other parochial matters; but the records show that Schultze occasionally officiated at the Fort Church till the next Chaplain came out. In the same way Kiernander made himself useful later on at Fort St. David; and when Schultze returned home broken down in health, Fabricius assisted when required at the English Church, as Schultze had done before him. It was Fabricius who married Robert Clive after the sad death of the Company's Chaplain. But it was not because the Missionaries were useful in these ways that the Directors were well disposed towards them: there is no

[1] S.P.C.K. Report, 1847.

evidence that the Directors knew of their help; it may have disposed the local authorities in their favour; but as for the Directors, they were well disposed out of the goodness and kindness of their hearts, and because they recognised that what the Missionaries had set themselves to do was for the highest good of the ruled, and therefore for the best interest of the rulers.

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CHAPTER X

THE CHURCH STOCK

REFERENCES have been made occasionally in the preceding chapters to the Church Stock. There is no record as to when and by whom the Church Stock was actually commenced; but there is sufficient material to form an opinion about it. There is no reference in the records to any Church fund before the time of Streynsham Master—before the time of the building of the Church, the establishment of a Vestry for the management of parochial affairs, and the election of Churchwardens. It is probably quite safe to assert that there was no Church Stock before this notable Governor brought the Vestry into existence. There was a fund; but it was not a Church fund; it was a Poor Fund, which was raised by means of fines for the infringement of the Company's Rules of Conduct.

These rules were drawn up in 1667, after the trouble between the rival Governors Winter and Foxcroft, with a view to a better discipline and subordination to authority among the Company's servants abroad.[1] The infringement of the majority of them was punishable by fine. Fines were exacted for all cursing, swearing, banning and blaspheming; for absence from prayers on Sundays and Wednesdays; for leaving the Fort without permission; and for drunkenness. After the mention of 20 offences and 20 penalties Rule 21 says:—

'It is ordered and appointed that all the fines or penalties that are imposed and shall be received for all the offences aforesaid shall be kept in a box appointed for the purpose for the use of the poor, chiefly English, to be distributed according as the Governor and Council shall direct.'

[1] The rules are printed at length by Wheeler in his *Madras in the Olden Time*, pp. 677–682.

These rules were only in force at the larger Factories, Suratt and Fort St. George. When Master became Governor in 1678 he received orders to put them in force at all the subordinate factories on the Coast and in the Bay. Before doing this he called a Council meeting and revised them.[1] It was an action singularly characteristic of the man. If they were to have penal rules in the Factories it was only right that the Company's servants should make them and consent to them. The Council began by defining the official duties of the Company's servants; they provided for the keeping of the records; they established rules of precedence, and prescribed the use of roundels as emblems of dignity; fines were to be paid for all the offences mentioned in the original rules; but the most important change was the appointment of Overseers of the Poor to receive and distribute the fund in the place of the Governor and Council, who had more important work to attend to.

There were two sets of rules, one for the civilians and one for the military; a Factor or Writer collected the fines from the former, and the Paymaster from the latter. The duty of all collectors of fines, whether at Head Quarters or at subordinate stations, was to pay them over monthly to the Overseers of the Poor at Fort St. George.[2]

Within two years of this revision and extension of the Rules the Church was built; the inhabitants met in Vestry and elected Churchwardens and Sidesmen; and there can be hardly room for doubt that the Overseers of the Poor were connected with the new parochial machinery, just as was then usual in England; that they either became the first Churchwardens, or transferred their powers (with the consent of the Government) to the first Churchwardens; so that their office was taken over by the Vestry, which henceforth provided for the relief of the poor themselves.

These local arrangements were made without the knowledge of the Directors. It is not surprising, therefore, to find them writing in 1688[3] and suggesting the establishment of a Poor Fund and the appointment of Overseers or Fathers of

[1] *Wheeler*, pp. 683–698. [2] Wilson's *Early Annals*, p. 69.
[3] Despatch, 11 Sept. 1688.

the Poor. It came about in this way. Occasionally a European, who could not be classed with those receiving poor relief, required assistance. He wanted more than the Poor Fund could afford to give him. And if by former service, or by the former service of any relative, the Council esteemed him to have a claim upon the charity of the Company, the Council relieved him out of the Company's chest. An action of this kind brought forth this paragraph in the Directors' Despatch of the 11 Sept. 1688:—

'Upon perusal of your Consultation Books, we find in several places you pay money out of the Company's Stock, for relieving of some poor English and other charitable uses, which is more than we can justly or dare do ourselves; we being not entrusted with the Adventurers' Stock as the Governors of Hospitals, but to trade with it, and to fortify and defend our trade by treaties or arms. Yet since there will in all colonies be a necessity sometimes to relieve distressed poor, we would have you raise a fund or stock for that purpose, which you may intrust in the hands of two or three of our Council, and two or three of the best, most charitable, and ablest of your inhabitants, whom you may Commission by themselves or by their proper officer, to ask and receive upon all pay days and every Lord's Day, or once a month at the Church, what shall be contributed towards the relief of the poor; and you may entitle those so commissioned by the name or style of Fathers of the Poor, as the Dutch call them.'

In 1694 [1] the Churchwardens lent 1200 pagodas of the fund to the Company and paid it in to the Treasury. The loan was for six months, and was to bear interest at 10 per cent. The Council ordered a bill to be given for the same. This transaction was in due course reported to the Directors. They took the matter into consideration and wrote in reply as follows [2]:—

'We do not think it at all convenient that the Widows' and Orphans' and Poor Stock should be taken into trade by our President and Council. The President and Council being no body in law, Politic or Corporate, but a flueid variable unconnected number of men that may die or change or differ

[1] Fort St. George Consultation Book, 4th Sept. 1694.
[2] Despatch, 6 March 1694–5, para. 29.

among themselves a hundred ways. But that the said Poor Stock be taken into the Company's Cash, and interest duely accounted or paid for the same, as the Churchwardens shall desire, every year or twice a year at six per cent per annum, as the same is done here.'

The Ministers and Churchwardens had to take this suggestion into consideration. As far as the Council was concerned the Despatch meant that they were not in future to borrow the Charity Fund money at more than six per cent. The local market rate might be eight or ten or twelve per cent. or any other rate. And of course the President and Council looked forward to make a much larger profit on the capital they borrowed than these rates. On the other hand loss was as possible as gain; and if there was loss, the loss was the Company's and the Company's only; for the Churchwardens held the Council's bond. The interest given was undoubtedly high for so safe an investment. The Directors were neither unreasonable nor illiberal in making their suggestion. But the Churchwardens were business men of the settlement, who understood thoroughly the risks they ran and how to protect themselves. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that they declined the Company's offer. The Council wrote home as follows [1]:—

'The Ministers and Churchwardens finding by Computation that they have made and can make 9 per cent. on the Orphans' Stock merely by interest, put it out themselves and did not transfer it to the Company's Cash.'

Before the administration of the Poor Fund came into the hands of the Vestry and the Churchwardens, there is no evidence that any large sum of money was accumulated. The accumulations began as soon as the Ministers and Churchwardens took up systematically the relief of the poor and the care of the orphans and their property. In 1684 the Government borrowed 600 pagodas belonging to the 'Church Orphants.' [2] There was a reason for the accumulation, for the building up of a large Church Stock, apart from the care of the orphans and the poor. The building of the Church

[1] Letter, 31 Jan. 1695–6, 29. [2] Consultations, 5 Jan. 1684–5.

made a staff of servants necessary; provision had to be made for the upkeep of the building and its furniture, and for the provision of all that was required in the conduct of divine service. The Company made no allowance for these purposes. The Stock grew by means of fines, donations, legacies, Church collections and similar means. In 1686 two of the young merchants quarrelled; the Council anticipated the duel they proposed and settled their difference by fining each of them 10 pagodas for the use of the Poor of the Church.[1] In 1688 the Ministers and Churchwardens owned three houses in Fort St. George, the Hospital building, and a fund of money as well. In 1694 they lent 1200 pagodas to the Government at 10 per cent.[2] In 1697 they lent 8500 pagodas to the Government at 8 per cent.[3] There is a monument at Vizagapatam erected by the St. Mary's Vestry to the memory of Jonathan Wilson, who died in the year 1706, aged about 65, leaving his estate to the Poor of the English Church at Fort St. George. There is another monument at Cuddalore (Sonaga Street Burial ground) erected by the Vestry to the memory of Thomas Read, who died in 1708. He was an Ensign in the Company's service; he left by will all his estate to the Church at Fort St. George. In 1708 a young Portuguese, who was chief mate on board a country ship, died on the return voyage from Madagascar intestate.[4] There was found in his chest Rs. 1802; he had no relations; the Portuguese padres, who were allowed by the Government to grant probates of wills of Roman Catholics and to administer the estates of intestates of their own faith, claimed the sum as a perquisite to their Church; but the Governor and Council considered that as the money was 'gott in the English service, it was just and reasonable to divide it equally between our Church and theirs'; and this was done.

The loss of the old Vestry books during the occupation of Fort St. George and Madras by the French from 1746 to 1749 makes it impossible to give more than an outline of how the fund was got together and what was done with it before that time. But it is known that the poor were relieved; that a

[1] Consultations, 20 Jan. 1686-7.
[2] Do. 4 Sept. 1694.
[3] Do. 1 and 9 July, and 4 Oct. 1697.
[4] Do. 1 Oct. 1708.

Hospital was built in the Fort; that the Ministers and Churchwardens had the care of all the orphan children and of their estate if there was one; that they were most careful guardians of both the children and their property, and that by the time Lockyer wrote the fund had greatly prospered and increased. The credit of this careful nursing and administration is due especially to two Chaplains, Richard Elliot 1681–96, and George Lewis 1692–1714. Lockyer wrote in 1703 that the Church Stock then amounted to 6705 pagodas in houses, plate, cash etc.; which with the Orphans' money makes their account current 13753 pagodas. He explains that "orphans' money is, when wealthy parents dying, bequeath their estates to children incapable of managing them, and make the Church trustees;—to provide a good education, and to prevent the abuses their minority might render them incident to from a single guardian, who often prefers his own private ends to the trust reposed in him." He explains that the Church Stock became so considerable from the free gifts of pious persons, and from the monthly collections in the time of divine service for the maintenance of the poor; and he adds that besides this monthly collection, the excess of the receipts over the expenditure in the Offerings Account of the Churchwardens was always passed to the credit of the Church Stock. Until the date of the publication of Lockyer's book only one reference to the Church Stock has been found in the Despatches to Fort St. George and in the Letters home from that settlement. Lockyer's book apparently made the Directors aware of the value and importance of the Stock just as it made them aware of the value and importance of the Library. They wrote out in 1714 and suggested [1] that the Church and Orphans' Stocks might be profitably employed in grain. They also made suggestions as to the keeping of the accounts; and the necessity of exercising some influence in the choice of the Churchwardens. The Council passed on the suggestion as to the employment of the Stock to the Ministers and Churchwardens, and wrote in reply to the Directors thus [2]:—

'The Company's proposal (para 57 and 58 per Kent) for

[1] Despatch per Kent, paras. 57 and 58.
[2] Letter, 13 Sept. 1715, paras. 54 and 55.

employing the Church and Orphans' Stocks in grain was not accepted, though made by the President when grain was dear; we are of opinion that it would be a surer interest to the Stock than they now make; but it depends on good management, and a better harmony than is now in the Church, etc.

'Those stocks were excellently managed in Mr. Lewis' time; and that they should be still is of the utmost consequence to the place; therefore we endeavour to get good Churchwardens. The Cash is kept as the Company direct; some difficulties arise about employing the money which we hope to remove. We shall send the Church's Journal and Ledger annually as ordered; and be watchful to see the Fund preserved and rightly applied.'

Four months later the Council wrote in further reply to the Directors on this subject[1]:—

'Besides what we mentioned per Kent of the Orphans' and Church's Stock we shall now add that, grain being cheap, we have laid in a store with the Churches Stock; the Minister and Churchwardens manage it; we will take care they dont raise the price in buying or sell too dear. The Churches Ledger is sent; the Journal could not be copied in time; the books are annually closed in October ready for the Vestry's perusal when the Council are present; we will send a complete set next shipping.'

To these letters the Directors replied a year later[2]:—

'It was with some concern we perused your 54th paragraph per Kent, because of that expression or intimation in it that there must be a better harmony in the Church itself. We are sorry to hear of some things that have been related as the source of that misunderstanding which savours too much of a selfish and private interested temper, if our information be true. We would willingly understand the 30th paragraph of the Bouverie's letter to be the beginning of a better agreement. Mr. Lewis, that valuable person, who best understands those stocks, as he nursed them up into a regular method, and brought them into the flourishing condition they now are or lately were, hath been privately asked concerning the present state of them, but cant be induced to speak out, which gives strong reason to suspect he knows (though loth

[1] Letter, 26 Jan. 1715–6, para. 30.
[2] Despatch, 25 Jan. 1716–7, paras. 51 and 52.

to declare where) the blame lies, hoping it will be rectified. We shall be glad to be assured it is so, and do earnestly recommend to you to take the due care therein. Let no private selfish or separate views ever take place to the hurting those stocks or either of them. Do you interpose your, that is, our authority in preventing any such attempts when necessary. Enquire into the management in the nature of a visitation to preserve it from mal-administration, and put it into a regular course, but don't meddle with any of the money. Let that and the management of it be under the direction of the Ministers and Church Wardens jointly; if either or any would deviate keep them in the right course. Your 55th paragraph points obscurely to faults in persons and things by the just commendations given to Mr. Lewis of his management, and adding that it is of the greatest consequence to the good of the place that it should be continued. Let all be mended; if any concerned after this do not readily and heartily contribute their endeavours, speak plain. Let the true and whole state of the case be fairly debated and determined in consultation.

'Remember our general orders to give the trustees of those stocks your countenance and support when necessary for the best improvement of them.'

These paragraphs must have greatly astonished the Fort St. George Council; for there was nothing wrong in the administration of the Church Funds, except in the imagination of the Directors; but it is due to the Directors to remember that the Council gave the food for their imaginations to feed upon, when they hinted that there was a want of harmony in the councils of the St. Mary's Vestry. It is not surprising to find that the Fort St. George Council gave no reply to these comments either in 1717 or 1718; nor that the Directors, having overestimated the importance of a chance remark, wrote at the beginning of 1719 to enquire why no further notice had been taken of so important a matter. In reply to this enquiry the Council wrote[1]:—

'The reason for not answering the paragraphs about the Church Stock was that we did not understand them nor do now; we suppose that formerly some disputes had been about its management; but as there has been none in our time, we

[1] Letter, 10 Oct. 1719, para. 55.

did not think fit to enquire of what before; it seems now to be well managed; we do yearly inspect their books at the public Vestry.'

When the 1715 letter was written Edward Harrison was Governor, and three other members of Council were Horden, Cooke and Fowke. When the 1719 letter was written Joseph Collet had become Governor, and there were four other new members of Council; but Masters Horden, Cooke, and Fowke were still members.

In managing the estates of deceased persons for the benefit of the orphans the custom of the Minister and Churchwardens was to invest the estate with the Church Stock, pay the cost of maintenance and education out of the proceeds; and when the child or children came of age, to pay them their share of the estate less 5 per cent. for the service rendered. This charge upon estates was credited to the Church Stock; it was one of the various ways by which the Church Stock was increased.[1] Some widows and orphans were left unprovided for. The Church Stock enabled the parish authorities to provide for such cases. If a Company's servant, civil or military, died in poverty, the Government as a rule paid the funeral expenses and made an allowance to the widow; and this did not prevent her from receiving an extra allowance, which she often did, from the Church fund.[2]

The administration of the fund went on during the next 25 years, without comment from the Directors. When Fort St. George and Madras were surrendered to the French in 1746, and the seat of Government on the Coromandel Coast transferred to Fort St. David, the Directors did not forget the old charity fund. They remembered that its funds were invested sometimes in the form of loans to its covenanted servants on mortgage, and that therefore a large part of its stock might probably be recovered. They therefore resolved to institute enquiry and wrote as follows to their President and Governor at Fort St. David[3]:—

'It cannot be unknown to you that there has been for

[1] Letter, 17 Jan. 1722–3, 85; the case of Mrs. Sarah Burniston.
[2] Despatch, 14 Feb. 1722–3, 70; the case of Engineer Johnson.
[3] Do. 17 June 1748, paras. 12 to 23.

many years at Madras a Stock or Fund subsisting, commonly called the Church Stock of Fort St. George; the foundation of it was laid so many years since, that we are strangers to the origin of it,. whether by legacies of deceased persons, or by the voluntary gifts and contributions of others;—whether such gifts, legacies and contributions were tied down to particular charities, or the disposition thereof left to the discretion of the Ministers and Churchwardens, may perhaps be an enquiry attended with difficulty; however we desire you will give us the best satisfaction you can therein. It may also be a question whether, as very large allowances have for a number of years (as we are informed) been paid to the poorer sort at Fort St. George, more may not have been expended for that purpose than the legacies and charitable contributions amounted to; notwithstanding which it appears by the last books which were transmitted to us, there was a very handsome balance in favour of the Church; but whether such balance arises from the capital of legacies or charitable donations unemployed, or from profits in trade we know not; for we are told the Church was sometimes concerned at Respondentia, and in Stocks on the country ships, and also in lending of money at an higher interest than what was paid to others; when we say others, we allude to a practise which had been frequently in use before the coming out of the charter, namely, that the Ministers and Churchwardens possessed themselves of the estate as such persons who died intestate, leaving children behind them, who upon their coming of age, were paid the same with the grown interest thereon.

'What has been already said relates chiefly to the management of the Minister and Churchwardens before the coming out of the charter; after that they declined altogether taking possession of Intestates' estates, and perhaps would have confined themselves solely to what was left in their hands as the Church Stock, if it were not that some of the inhabitants, whether as executors administrators or guardians, becoming possessed of money for the children of deceased persons, considering their own mortality and the uncertainty (if they should die) what hands the money should fall into, what would become of it, or where to be sought for by the children when they came of age; and as the Minister and Churchwardens had acquired a reputation for their discreet management, that they kept regular books of the employment of the money in their hands, which books (as we are informed) were yearly balanced and produced at a Vestry held for inspection thereof and other purposes; and as

these books were (as we understand) looked upon as a constant and certain record, and the Minister and Churchwardens supposed to have perpetual succession, the children would always when they came of age know where to ask for and receive their right,—an advantage which could not certainly be depended on if the money was left in particular and private hands,—and we are informed that for these reasons several persons that were executors administrators or guardians thought it the best, as being the most secure way of employing the children's money, to pay several sums to the Minister and Churchwardens, taking their bonds for the same, payable with no higher interest than £5 per cent., though the common interest of the place was from £7 to £8 per cent., and subject also to a deduction of £5 per cent. from the nett sum due and payable to the children when they came of age, and that deduction was also to be made if executor administrator or guardian should at any time before demand and receive the money from the Minister and Churchwardens. Other sums we are told were paid to the said Minister and Churchwardens, for which they gave bond to make certain monthly payments to certain persons, and upon the demise of such persons to repay the first principal.

'Matters were in this situation when the French lately attacked and took our settlement, when (as we are informed) the Minister and Churchwardens, or persons who were possessed of the securities, in which this Stock was invested, thought proper to destroy the same, to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands. However we are also acquainted that several of the debtors have since voluntarily executed fresh obligations, and that the rest of them are ready to do the same, or to pay what they are indebted to the Stock.

'And as by the taking of Madras the being of a Minister and Churchwardens is at an end, and as in fact there are no persons to receive the money owing from the debtors to the Stock, we have been requested to direct you to receive the same, to the end it may be applied for the purposes it belongs; and we being willing to contribute all in our power that justice may be done, have agreed to take upon us the receiving the debts which are outstanding; but as we are not fully apprized of what may be due from the Stock to the Orphans and to the charities, and as it may be uncertain whether all the money that is represented to us as owing to the Stock will be paid, so the greatest care must be taken that a just and equal distribution be made of what shall be received.

'We send you in the Somerset's packet a copy of the last

Ledger received from Fort St. George; and having extracted the several debts and credits the same is entered by way of balance paper at the end; that will shew you, as far as is in our power, how matters stood in 1745. We hope the same together with the information you may get from the gentlemen who acted as Churchwardens the subsequent year, and otherwise, will enable you to form a clear and exact state of the several debts and credits of the Church Stock, distinguishing in the debtor side the sums due to the orphans by name, and specifying what is due to each particular charity, and whether such charity is general,—at the discretion of the Minister and Churchwardens, or appropriated to any particular purpose.

'In the credit side you will set down the several sums due to the Stock, from whom by name, and how secured, and a copy of this account so made up you are to transmit to us by the first opportunity.

'You are to give notice to the debtors to the Stock that you are directed to receive their several debts, and to indemnify them on paying the same.

'The money as it comes in is to be paid into our Treasury, and you are from time to time to credit the account with an interest of £5 per cent. per annum for so much of the money as shall be in our hands.

'And upon any orphans coming of age and demanding their money, you are to make up the account of what is due for Principal and Interest, after the rate of £5 per cent. per annum upon the money of each orphan, and a like interest upon each charitable legacy; and you are at the same time to take an account of what you have then in cash upon the general account, and having so done you are at liberty, and you are hereby directed, to pay to such orphan a dividend in respect of the money due to him or her, in proportion the money you are in cash bears to what the Stock shall at that time be indebted to all the orphans and charitable legacies, deducting from the money you pay to such orphan £5 per cent. which is to be applied to and as an increase to the general fund, till the whole Principal money and Interest due to both orphans and charities is replaced; and as any further sum comes to your hands, you are to distribute the same in the like manner, so that an equal dividend of the whole money which may at any time be received, be from time to time made between and among all the orphans and charities in proportion to the sums due to them respectively both for Principal and Interest; and if you should be so fortunate as to receive sufficient to pay the whole Principal and Interest due to the

orphans and charity with a surplus, you are to keep such surplus for our account, to be disposed of for such charitable or public use as we shall hereafter direct.

'It has also been represented to us that independent of the Church Stock there was another, which (it is said) amounted to between five and ten thousand pagodas, established for maintaining a Charity School, wherein the children of the poorer sort were taught to read and write, and educated in the communion of the Church of England, and that Trustees were appointed every year, when the accounts of the trust were inspected.

'The same reasons that induce us to interfere in relation to the Church Stock require our attention with respect to this; and therefore if you can receive any part of this Stock, we direct you to do so, and to give receipts for the same on our account; and if required, to indemnify the parties to the amount of the money you receive. We shall not at present give any orders touching the application of the money you may receive on this account, but shall wait for your answer to this, when we expect you will give us the fullest information you can of this Stock, how it was raised, by whom, and for what purposes, how it has usually been applied, what part of it was in being when Madras was taken, wherein it consisted, what you shall have received, and from whom, how much may then be outstanding, and how secured; and we desire you will at the same time give us your opinion how this Stock, or so much of it as can be received, may be most usefully employed.

'The money as it comes in is to be paid into our Treasury, and you are from time to time to credit the account with an interest of £5 per cent. per annum for so much of the money as shall be in our hands.'

The date of this lengthy Despatch was the 17th June 1748; it arrived at Fort St. David at the beginning of the following year. The Council welcomed the promise of receiving a copy of the St. Mary's Church Ledger, and appointed a committee, consisting of Messieurs R. Prince, A. Wynch, and F. Westcott to examine the copy when received, and to carry out the directions received from the Court.[1] The proceedings of this committee are not recorded. Doubtless the matter was discussed; and as the news of the intended

[1] Fort St. David Consultations, March 1748–9.

rendition of Fort St. George must have reached the Council and the committee soon[1] after the Despatch, there is little doubt that further action was postponed until the rendition took place, which was on the 21st August 1749. It was stipulated in the Treaty that all record books and papers were to be mutually restored. The Directors accordingly wrote out that they would not trouble to send copies of them.[2] This decision was the cause of further delay; for the Account Books of the Church and School Stocks, together with the Minute Book of the Vestry, had all been destroyed during the French occupation. After the rendition there were many important matters to settle and arrange both at Fort St. David and at Fort St. George; and of course ecclesiastical affairs had to wait whilst these were being attended to. The Council was however able to write from Fort St. David the following February thus[3]:—

'We have re-established a Vestry at Madras, who have appointed Churchwardens for receiving debts due to Church Stocks, some of which have been discharged, and several bonds renewed. At the same time a Treasurer and Trustees were elected to look after the Charity School.'

The first Vestry meeting after the rendition was held on the 3rd January 1749-50. The memorable gathering was presided over by the Deputy-Governor, Richard Prince Esqre.; there were four members of Council present, Foss Westcott, Richard Starke, William Smyth King and John Walsh. Besides these there was the new Chaplain, Mr. George Swynfen, who arrived at Fort St. David the previous September, and had been transferred to the subordinate factory of Fort St. George; and the following inhabitants:—

Nicholas Morse,	Capt. John Standard,
Thomas Eyre,	William Percival,
Edward Harris,	Andrew Munro,
Cornelius Goodwin,	Charles Boddam,
Samuel Greenhaugh,	Capt. Charles Hopkins,
Joseph Fowke,	George Jones,
Henry Powney,	John Pybus.

[1] The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was signed the 7th Oct. 1748.
[2] Despatch, 27 Jan. 1748–9, para. 26.
[3] Letter, 12 Feb. 1749–50, para. 73.

Some of the above were covenanted servants of the Company, and some were free merchants. The minutes of the proceedings begin thus:—

'There being several considerable sums of money owing to the Church Stock, several sums from it to orphans and others, which by the want of proper powers cannot be received or paid away; and as a further delay may be attended with public loss, the inhabitants of the town are now summoned to a meeting to consider upon the proper methods to remedy these inconveniences.'

Powney and Fowke the Churchwardens, and Greenhaugh and Boddam the Sidesmen at the time of the surrender of the Fort, were re-elected to those offices, being 'supposed to be best acquainted with the Church affairs.' Arrangements were then made to get in debts, to pay out dues, and to examine the state of the Church's house property. William Percival was re-elected Treasurer of the Charity School Stock. Provision was made for the safety of the Cash; it was to be kept under three keys, one under the hand of the Minister, and one under the hand of each Churchwarden.

During the year 1750 three Vestry meetings were held. The same kind of business was transacted at each meeting; money was paid in by debtors, and was paid out to creditors; special cases of debtors unable to pay were considered and disposed of; and special cases of poverty were relieved from the Church Stock. By the end of the year the old system was again in working order. The Churchwardens wrote to the Governor and Council of Fort St. David in December 1750, reporting their great progress in collecting debts due from those in India, and asking the Governor to obtain the assistance of the Directors in the recovery of debts due from those who had returned to England. This the Governor agreed to do [1]; the Directors on several occasions assisted the Trustees to recover sums of money due [2]; and themselves repaid the value of a bond, lost or destroyed, which had been held by the Churchwardens from the Company before 1746.[3]

[1] Fort St. David Consultations, Dec. 1750 and Oct. 1751.
[2] Despatch, 23 Jan. 1754, para. 83. [3] Do. Jan. 1753.

From this time the administration of the Fund was the regular care of the Vestry till 1805. Occasional mention will be made of it in succeeding chapters.

This fund was only for Europeans and Eurasians. In 1696 another fund was established for the relief of the native poor, who had hitherto been allowed to beg in the Fort. This fund was placed in the hands of the Mayor and Aldermen, who were ordered to distribute it at the Choultry, just outside the Choultry gate, every Monday morning.[1]

[1] Fort St. George Consultation Book, 2 Nov. 1696.

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CHAPTER XI

THE COMPANY AND THE ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSION UP TO 1746

No ecclesiastical history of the Madras Presidency and Diocese can be complete without some account of the relationship of the East India Company to the Roman Catholic Mission in its territory. The Fort St. George mission was an offshoot of the St. Thoma mission. It was necessary in the earliest days of the English settlement to attract inhabitants to assist the merchants in their commercial and administrative work. St. Thoma, three miles from Fort St. George, was an old Portuguese settlement in a state of commercial and political decay. It and its subordinate factories along the coast contained a few pure blooded Portuguese, and a large number of persons of mixed blood with pure Portuguese names. These were all zealously affected to the Roman Catholic religion. They understood both the language of the country and the peculiarities of the natives amongst whom they had been nurtured and brought up. The earliest Agents of the Company recognised their value as subordinates; and attracted them to Fort St. George as interpreters, tradesmen, office clerks, shop keepers and soldiers. In these capacities they were wanted; and in order to make them come and stay it was necessary to make them contented and comfortable. They were given plots of land for their houses both inside and outside the outer walls of the Fort; and they were allowed the free exercise of their religion with the services of a priest of their own faith.

The jurisdiction of the Portuguese Bishop of St. Thoma extended over the whole of the Coromandel coast; so that it is probable that at first the Portuguese settlers at the Fort were ministered to by a Portuguese padre. Within a short

time he was displaced by a French Capuchin. The records do not say how, when, or why this change was made.[1] The story as told by Hough is that a French Capuchin missionary, Father Ephraim de Nevers, arrived at Fort St. George on his way to the further east; that he was invited by the English merchants to remain and to take charge of the Portuguese settlers within the Company's territory; that, being assured of support, protection, and assistance, he consented to stay, and did so. The doing so was a disobedience to the orders he had received from his superiors. It was probably on account of this that he had to appear before the inquisitor of his order at Goa, as related by Padre Norbert, and quoted by Hough and other historians. The establishment of the French Capuchins at the Fort must have taken place very early in its history; for when Padre Isaacson, the first resident English Chaplain, complained of the aggressive character of the Roman Catholic missionaries in 1654 to President Aaron Baker, it was of the two Frenchmen, Ephraim and his companion Padre Zenon, that he complained.

It is possible to give a very probable reason why the change was made. Neither the Company nor the Company's merchants abroad desired to have in their settlements priests who were subject to a foreign jurisdiction. They insisted upon their own authority over all persons and all matters within the limit of their territories. The Portuguese power and influence in other parts of India was still considerable; French power and influence had not yet commenced. The presence of a Portuguese secular priest under the orders of the Bishop of St. Thoma, who was himself subject to the civil and ecclesiastical authorities at Goa, might lead to complications. The appointment of a French regular, not under the authority of the Portuguese at all, seemed to the local Government more in accordance with their own interests; and so a French regular was appointed.

Information of the appointment was sent with a protest from St. Thoma to Goa, from Goa to Lisbon, and from Lisbon to London. In the year 1670 the Portuguese Envoy to the Court of St. James wrote to the Company complaining

[1] Hough's *Christianity in India*, vol. 2, chap. iii. pp. 417–8.

that two French clergymen had gone to Fort St. George, 'taking upon themselves spiritual government, under a pretence of having the Pope's Bull.' This he did in the interest of the King of Portugal, who by an arrangement with the Pope had the patronage of all ecclesiastical benefices in the East Indies in return for his protection of Roman Catholic interests.

The complaint placed the Company in a difficulty; they intended to retain their own authority in their own territories; they desired to live peaceably with the Portuguese, and with the country powers who were in alliance with the Portuguese. They therefore wrote[1] to the Agent informing him of the complaint, telling him to smooth over matters, and to be careful not to offend the King of Golcondah in the matter.

The presence of Roman Catholics in the Fort was regarded from one point of view by the Directors in London, and from another point of view by their servants abroad. The Company resented their presence; the merchants recognised its necessity. Consequently while the orders from home regarding them in the 17th century were peremptory, unsympathetic, and often intolerant, their treatment by the merchants on the spot was generally kindly, tolerant, and forbearing. The merchants assisted them to build their first Church in the Fort; and when it was consecrated in 1675 the Governor congratulated them, and ordered salutes to be fired in honour of the occasion.[2] They allowed the Capuchin padres to travel up and down the coast to the different factories free of charge.[3] They were charitable towards them when charity was necessary. Here is an extract from the Consultation Book:—

'14 June 1686. Senor Pedro Paulo de St. Francisco, an Italian Padre, recommended to us by the Generall of Suratt, and to them by the Consull of Naples (whose family is related to the Kings of England and having done many favours to the English nation at Naples) making his request to have his occasion supplied by a contribution from the English of this place, It is ordered that 20 pagodas be given him upon the Rt. Hon. Company's account; most of the English having

[1] Despatch, Feb. 1670–1. [2] Consultations, 28 Oct. 1680.
[3] Do. 23 May 1687.

contributed thereto, the whole collected (with the said 20 pagodas) being 83 pagodas, was presented to him.'

And when the Governor and Council were called upon to hear complaints against them, as they sometimes were, their decision was given with the knowledge that their presence and work was necessary, and that they must not be treated in such a manner as to cause them to withdraw from the Fort. At the same time both the Directors and the merchants recognised the political necessity of retaining the supreme authority in all matters ecclesiastical as well as civil.

As long as the two first appointed padres lived, there was no clashing of authority, though there were occasional complaints of interference with persons who were not Portuguese. Zenon died in 1687, aged 85, and was interred in St. Andrew's Church in the Fort.[1] Within a few years of his death the Government of Fort St. George came into conflict with the Bishop of St. Thoma, who claimed ecclesiastical jurisdiction and more over Zenon's successors at Fort St. George, and the right of appointment of a missionary priest to the Church at Cuddalore.

There is no doubt that the Bishops of St. Thoma had exercised this right of appointment before; but since the last appointment was made the political circumstances of Cuddalore had altered; for it had come into possession of the Company; and the local Government looked upon the right of presentation to the Church as a right which belonged to the owners of the property—that is, to themselves.

In June 1693 the Bishop of St. Thoma—who was also Governor of that settlement—transferred Padre Paulo de Saa from Cuddalore to Porto Novo, and so created a vacancy at Cuddalore. The Bishop then died. In August Padre Don John de Clerici petitioned the Governor and Council to appoint him 'Padre Resident of Cuddalore for the service of the Portuguese inhabitants of that place,' promising loyalty and fidelity to the Hon. Company and their interest. His petition shewed that he was a priest of the Theatine order; that he had letters missionary from the Prefect of the Regulars

[1] Consultations, 11 May 1687.

at Goa, and that he was not, therefore, subject to the Bishop-Governor of St. Thoma. The Governor and Council, being satisfied that the Deputy Governor and Council of Fort St. David would approve, made the appointment; and granted a licence to Padre Don John to officiate at the subordinate factory.[1]

At the end of November a new Bishop of St. Thoma arrived; and a few weeks afterwards Padre Don John returned from Fort St. David with his licence. He represented that 'not understanding the English language, he was not sensible of the import of some articles, which upon consideration he found directly contrary to the strict rules of his order, and that his acceptance thereof would render him liable to the ecclesiastical censure of his superiors'; and that he wished to give up the appointment and go elsewhere. The Governor and Council did not choose to alter the terms of the licence upon his objections. At the same time they thought it better to have him at Cuddalore than either a French or Portuguese padre, he being of a different order and nation from them both. They agreed, therefore, to permit him to reside and officiate at Cuddalore during good behaviour without a licence, and to submit the articles complained of to the Commissary General on his next visit.[2] Padre Don John was contented with this arrangement, and returned to Cuddalore; but he died shortly afterwards.

Upon his death the new Bishop of St. Thoma, Raymundo de Mervais, wrote to the Governor:—'I have advice that Padre Don John, whom the Governor my predecessor placed vicar of Cuddalore, is deceased; and whereas I determine to send to that Church Padre Paulo de Saa who has been there' etc. This letter was dated the 11 Feb. 1693–4; it was considered but not replied to at once; in fact an answer was deferred whilst the Council waited an opportunity of finding a fitter person. Two months later the letter was considered in Council and entered in the Consultation Book, and this was the decision arrived at[3]:—

'It is ordered that a General Letter be written to Hatsell

[1] Consultations, 28 Aug. 1693. [2] Do. 16 Dec. 1693.
[3] Do. 5 April 1694.

and Council [Deputy Governor and Council of Fort St. David] to order Padre de Saa from executing his priestly office within their bounds either in public or private, and to expel him if he refuse or prove troublesome.

'And to write to the Bishop of St. Thoma disowning his episcopal authority in Cuddalore or any other English Government.'

This strong resolution was in consequence of the defiance of the local Government by the Bishop of St. Thoma. The Government wished to appoint some one who was not subject to the Bishop. There had arrived lately at Fort St. George a Theatine padre, Gulielmus de Valle,[1] who declared himself independent of the Bishop and willing to go. When the Bishop heard of this, he declared that he would excommunicate Padre de Valle if he went. The Council were informed of this by the French padre in the Fort, who also told them that all the padres of the Jesuit order were anxious for Padre de Saa's continuation at Cuddalore. The Council declined to admit the authority of the Bishop of St. Thoma to appoint a vicar of Cuddalore, and issued the above decided order; and the Governor himself wrote the following reply to the Bishop.[2]

'I received your letter dated 11th February wherein you advise me that you determine to send Padre Paulo de Saa in the room of Padre Don John, whom the Governor your predecessor had placed Vicar of Cuddalore. I acknowledge your civility in giving me notice of your determination; but admire at your usurpation of an authority which did not belong to your predecessor, nor to yourself nor successors, viz. to appoint vicars in any place under the English Government. You have made a wrong account, and if you would reckon right you must begin again. In this case I ought to deal plainly with you, that no foreign episcopal authority can be admitted within the limits of our jurisdiction, and that you are not Governor or Bishop of Cuddalore no more than of Madras; but as your reverence is Bishop and Governor of Miliapore[3] I congratulate your accession to that authority, and desire to embrace your friendly and neighbourly correspondence; in pursuance of which I acquaint your reverence that I have determined to permit Padre Gulielmus Avalle of

[1] Sometimes written A Valle or De Valle or De La Valle.
[2] Consultations, 7 April 1694. [3] The native name of St. Thoma.

the order of the Theatines to reside at Cuddalore in the room of Padre Don John de Clerici deceased.

(Signed) 'NATHANAEL HIGGINSON.'

The questions of authority and right of appointment were discussed for more than a year after this letter was sent. The Government insisted that if their nominee was not allowed to officiate, no one should officiate; and so the Bishop gave in, and assented to Padre Gulielmo de Valle going.[1] The licence granted to him allowed him to officiate, provided that

1. He obeyed the English Government, assisting it in peace and war, and abstained from all acts prejudicial to it.
2. He abstained from proselytising the Protestant soldiers or inhabitants; and from Christening, marrying or burying any of them without leave.
3. He submitted an annual list of Roman Catholics within the boundaries of Fort St. David.

The Council further ordered that no other Roman Catholic priest, religious or secular, should perform any religious office at Cuddalore without the leave of the Deputy-Governor; and that no orders or decrees or letters from the Bishop of Miliapore should be either published or exhibited in the Church.

At the time this Cuddalore dispute arose, a somewhat similar dispute began at Fort St. George. Padre Ephraim was still alive in 1693, but was disabled by age from carrying on his work, which was thus placed upon the shoulders of his assistant Padre Michael.[2] They petitioned the Government to be allowed to employ another assistant, a French priest named Lewis de Olivera, who had been a member of the French mission at Pondicherry before its capture by the Dutch.[3] The Government granted the request on the ground that he was of the same order as Ephraim, a Capuchin, and that the request was itself reasonable, there being 8000 Christians within the bounds of the city belonging to the Portuguese Church; and they gave him a licence to reside and officiate with the same conditions as those mentioned above.[4]

[1] Consultations, 3 May 1695.
[2] Sometimes referred to as Michael Angelus and Miguel.
[3] August 1693. [4] Consultations, 25 Sept. 1693.

These French Capuchins had another assistant, a Portuguese named de Mello, who apparently resided and officiated at Fort St. George without any licence, and who probably would have been allowed to do so if he had not committed an indiscretion. This extract from the Consultation Book briefly explains what took place, and how the Government asserted its authority[1]:—

'Padre Salvadore de Cunha de Mello, a Portuguese, having complained against Padre Lewis de Olivera (both resident in this place and officiating under the French padre) before the Bishop's Vicar of St. Thoma, upon which the said Bishop's vicar has issued his order for Padre Lewis de Olivera's appearance before him . . . under pain of suspension . . . etc. Ordered that this letter be written to the Rev. Padre Michael Angelus; "You are ordered by the President and Council not to permit Padre Salvadore de Cunha de Mello to officiate as a Priest in the Portuguese Church of St. Andrew's in this city of Madras till further notice."'

None of the records show that there was any interference on the part of the local Government with the actual spiritual work of the Capuchin priests, or with their method of carrying it on, so long as they acknowledged the supremacy of the Government, and attended to their own flock. The regulations that were made were made with a view to preserve the authority of the Government, and for no other reason; every infringement of them was consequently followed by some unpleasant penalty. No person could build within the walls of the Fort without permission; the French padres knew this; but they began a building in the Churchyard of St. Andrew's in 1698. They were at once stopped, and were not allowed to proceed till they had obtained the necessary leave.[2] In May 1701 it came to the knowledge of the Governor and Council that the Bishop of St. Thoma had sent an order to Padre Michael Angelus to deliver up certain papers relating to a cause then pending in the High Court of Judicature. The Government thereupon re-published their declaration that no Roman Catholic Bishop had any power or jurisdiction over the clergy or laity of that persuasion residing

[1] Consultations, 1 Nov. 1694. [2] Do. 30 May and 10 Oct. 1698.

under their protection; and they ordered that this declaration should be read out on the following Sunday in St. Andrew's Church, and that the Secretary of the Council should be present to hear it. At the same time Padre Michael was forbidden to publish in his Church any communication from any Bishop, or ecclesiastical functionary whatever, without first obtaining leave to do so from the Governor.

Probably Padre Michael obeyed this order as long as he possibly could. It became impossible at the end of the year 1702 when the French ships brought to Pondicherry a Patriarch and a band of Italian priests, who were on their way to join the Jesuit Mission in China. One of the priests came by leave to Madras with a letter from the Patriarch; and after some days he received authority from the Patriarch to be Superior over the Capuchin community and head of the Madras mission. The Government would not, however, allow him to take up the appointment[1]; and they continued Padre Michael in the position in which they had placed him. At the beginning of 1704 he applied for leave to go to Pondicherry, representing that he was summoned thither by the Patriarch, and that if he did not go it would tend to his ruin.[2] The Governor gave the same reply as before, that he could not allow any person to have authority over the priests of the place, so as to send them away or alter them at their pleasure; he forbade him to go; and ordered the officers of the gate not to permit him to pass out.

The Patriarch and the Bishop of St. Thoma continued their attempts during that year to exercise authority at Fort St. George over Padre Michael. They placed him under an interdict, by which all his ministrations were stopped. The Government replied by admitting a Portuguese Capuchin into the town and investing him with authority to officiate.

'The Capuchins here of the Portuguese Church, being under interdictions from the Patriarch and the Bishop of St. Thoma, who design to put upon us what padres they please, which may be the worst of consequences. To prevent

[1] Consultations, 22 Dec. 1702, 24 Jan. 1702–3, and 22 Nov. 1703, and Letters home at this period.

[2] Consultations, 22 Jan. 1703–4.

which it is agreed, for the satisfaction of many of the inhabitants of that persuasion, that Padre Lorenzo, a Capuchin, be admitted into the town to exercise his functions in their Church.'[1]

After a time the French Patriarch pursued his journey to China and left the Fort St. George Capuchins at peace. Padre Michael Angelus died in Jan. 1707–8. The head of the Capuchin order travelled from Pondicherry in order to appoint a successor; but he was told on arrival by the Capuchins and others that no one but the Governor and Council had that power; and that it was necessary to petition the Government to make the appointment. A petition was accordingly presented signed by Laurentius, Renatus and Innocentius, 'Capucini'; no successor was suggested by name; it only pleaded for a continuation of the protection, favour and charity which had been hitherto enjoyed, and mentioned the deaths of Zenon, Ephraim and Michael Angelus.[2] There is no reason to suppose that the choice of the Government was not the choice of the head of the order. They had no interest in preferring one man to another. All that they wanted was subordination to their authority. In appointing Padre Renatus and investing him with a licence under their seal they probably appointed the priest whom the Capuchins wished for.

The Governor and Council having reported what they had done in their next letter home, the Directors replied[3]:—

'We observe that you have ordered a capuchin padre to succeed Padre Michael, Head of the Portuguese Church, deceased; we take it for granted that you approve of him as a proper man, and would have you never part with but always keep these appointments or the power in your own hand, whereby you will have the greater authority over those ecclesiastics to keep them within bounds, and [cause them to maintain] a suitable deportment towards the Government, and engage them to your interest, and thereby all their dependents.'

About a month before this despatch reached Fort St. George the Governor produced at a Council meeting[4] a letter

[1] Consultations, 15 Sept. 1704.
[2] Do. 18 Feb. 1707–8.
[3] Despatch, 9 Jan. 1708–9, 47.
[4] Consultations, 11 June 1709.

he had received from a Portuguese Dominican friar at St. Thoma together with a copy of a letter from the Capuchins of St. Andrew's to the friar. These letters stated that the Patriarch in China, had revived the trouble he formerly gave by renewing his excommunication, and forbidding absolution without the severe penance of carrying a cross from St. Andrew's to St. Thomas' Mount; and this for obeying the orders of Government. The Council agreed that further orders should be at once issued to search all padres that came within the Company's limits, to refuse them admittance to the Fort, and to prohibit the padres of St. Andrew's to publish any communication from the Patriarch in their Church upon penalty of expulsion.

The interference of the French Patriarch and the revival of French power and activity on the Coast together caused a gradual revulsion of feeling in favour of the Portuguese. The Portuguese were no longer politically to be feared; they were not commercial rivals; they were not seeking to build up their own interests by the destruction of British influence. And so from this time there will be noticed in the council chamber of Fort St. George a growing prejudice in favour of the Bishop of St. Thoma and the Portuguese.

Occasionally the presence of the Roman Catholic padres in the Fort produced social results which the Company and the local authorities greatly misliked: that is, marriages which—though perhaps sacramentally and ecclesiastically valid—were not valid according to the law of England. A case occurred in 1698[1]; one of the Company's servants, Henry Dobyns, was privately married to Mrs. Rachel Baker by a Roman Catholic priest. According to English law it was no marriage; and so the local Government refused to recognise it, and separated the parties till they were legally as well as sacramentally married at St. Mary's. Insistence upon a legal marriage was not due to intolerance of a foreign religion, but rather to a sense of duty towards the family of a Company's servant. Toleration was in the air and was increasing year by year. In 1705 Sergeant William Dixon and Sergeant Francis Hugonin were given commissions as

[1] Consultations, 30 May, 25 and 30 June 1698.

ensigns at the Fort. The former was a Roman Catholic; so the Council thought it necessary to justify themselves when they made the promotion.[1]

'The objection against Dixon is from an obsolete order of the old Company that no Roman Catholic should bear command in the garrison; but in regard that they have since employed commanders and supra-cargoes to India that have been professed Roman Catholics, we hope it may warrant us making this person an officer, he being likewise one of the best soldiers we have in the garrison; and 'tis not unlikely but his preferment may make him return again to the Protestant religion.'

In 1695 the Governor licensed the Theatine padre de Valle to officiate at Cuddalore. In 1699 he was dispossessed, and Padre Paulo de Saa (the nominee of the Bishop of St. Thoma) was licensed in his place. The record of this transaction has not been found; the reason of the change is not therefore known. De Saa continued to officiate till 1706 when he petitioned for an assistant, and nominated Padre Emmanuel de Silva, the son of Captain de Silva, an inhabitant of Fort St. George.[2] His petition was granted; and these two continued at Cuddalore till the end of March 1710. The position of the Government with regard to Roman Catholic affairs on the coast was rather complicated. They denied the jurisdiction within their territories of the nearest Roman Catholic Bishop. They licensed two French priests of the Capuchin order to officiate at Fort St. George, whose Superior was at Pondicherry. They licensed two priests of the Portuguese Church to officiate at Cuddalore, who acknowledged the spiritual authority of the Bishop of St. Thoma. They favoured for a short time priests of the Theatine order from Goa and appointed them to Cuddalore. The French Jesuits were opposed to the Capuchins and the Theatines, and were in favour of the Portuguese Bishop and priests. And the situation was further complicated by the presence in Fort St.

[1] Consultations, 12 May 1705.
[2] Do. 25 July 1706. 'Whereas your petitioner by the permission of the Rt. Hon. Company is vicar . . . . for near 7 years,' etc.

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George between 1702 and 1710 of a Theatine priest who was an Englishman.

In the Fort St. George Council Book [1] there is a lengthy record of the Black Town caste dispute, then taking place, in which Padre Milton's name is several times mentioned :—

'About five years past here came from Goa a Theatine Padre, an Englishman, Milton by name, who often passed between this place and Fort St. David, and several times came to the Governor [2] pressing him leave to build a chapel here or at Fort St. David, which he positively refused him considering that the worst of consequences must attend it, or that it would be to the great dislike of the Company to have an English Priest here of the Popish religion; for that, being such, he ought to die by our Laws. Yet nevertheless one Joseph Hiller . . . . bought a piece of ground here (without any leave or knowledge of the Governor) for Milton; on which he immediately erected a fabric after the model of a convent, and had made considerable progress therein, before the Governor, who was going to the garden one morning, knew anything of it. He immediately sent for Padre Milton, and demanded of him how he came by that ground; who answered Mr. Hiller bought it for him. Upon which the Governor ordered him immediately to desist from building, and by six at night to depart the place, which he accordingly did to St. Thoma,' . . . . etc.[3]

There is no further reference to Padre John Milton in the records until 1710, when he and Padre Don Simon de Costa, both being of the Theatine order, petitioned the Governor to be restored to the Church at Cuddalore.[4] They represented that their order had served the Company for 16 years (that is from 1693); that their first vicar had died at Cuddalore; that their second vicar, though appointed by patent, had been dispossessed several years; that when they came to Madras eight years before (that is, in 1701) they assisted Governor Pitt to find a padre for Bencoolen and sent one of their own order there; that for this service Governor Pitt promised to

[1] Consultations, 22 Aug. 1707.
[2] Thomas Pitt.
[3] The first Englishman found doing mission work in India was Padre Stephens, a Winchester scholar who became a Jesuit (see the *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*). John Baptist Milton was the second.
[4] Consultations, 13 Jan. 1709–10. The Governor was William Fraser the opponent of Thomas Pitt in 1707.

restore the Churches of Cuddalore to them; that they had since by request of the Government sent one of their order to Bantam, and another to Bencoolen; they reminded the Governor that none of the Portuguese padres could be prevailed with to go to those parts; and they asserted that the present incumbent, Padre de Silva, was a person of none the best morals.

The Government granted the petition, in part; they agreed that a licence should be given to Padre Don Simon de Costa to officiate at Cuddalore, and that Padre de Silva should be displaced. As soon as this decision was known at Cuddalore Padre de Saa requested permission to go to Fort St. George, which was granted;[1] and there can be no doubt that he laid his own case before the Bishop of St. Thoma. The Council reported to the Directors what they had done. The Bishop of St. Thoma wrote to the Governor about the Theatine order, which considered itself not to be under episcopal jurisdiction.[2] But matters remained as arranged during the rest of the year 1710.

At the end of that year the opinion of the Council underwent a change with regard to Milton and the Theatines and their charges against the Portuguese padres at Cuddalore. It is very likely that the political circumstances of the Portuguese had something to do with the change. At the beginning of 1711 the Bishop of St. Thoma, who was on a visit to the Fort, was treated with marked respect; and it was agreed that Padre Clement Pereira should take the place of de Costa and Milton at Cuddalore, and should be considered as officiating for Padre Paul de Saa until further orders.[3] The reply of the Directors arrived in August 1711: they did not approve of the Portuguese being turned out to make place for Theatines; and so Padre de Silva was reinstated—the charges against him being found to be false, invented by Milton, 'a man of very indifferent character.'[4]

While Padre John Milton was at Cuddalore in 1710 he made the most of his opportunity to pervert the English from

[1] Consultations, 14 March 1709–10.
[2] Do. 19 Oct. 1710.
[3] Do. 27 Feb. 1710–11.
[4] Do. 15 Nov. 1711. Edward Harrison, Governor.

their faith; so that the Fort St. David Council wrote to the Company [1] and pleaded for a Chaplain, on the ground that some Protestants were being perverted. Probably this also had something to do with the displacement of the two Theatines. Milton retired to St. Thoma and remained there till October 1712 when, having volunteered to go to Bencoolen with the newly appointed Agent, Joseph Collet,[2] he started on his journey. The Fort St. George Council evidently had very little respect for him; they briefly reported [3] that Padre Milton, turned out of the Cuddalore Churches by the Company, had gone to Bencoolen, where nobody else would; that there was 'no fear of his turning any English to Popery, being not qualified for it,' etc. Two years later they wrote [4]:—

'Padre Milton is dead, and the disputes about him are ended.'

Before starting for Bencoolen he wrote a letter to the Company which is dated the 26 Oct. 1712,[5] in which he gave some information about himself, and some of the arguments upon which he relied that the Company would support him and his order against the Portuguese. At the time he wrote he had a Church and a house at St. Thoma; this meant that he was working under and with the licence of the Portuguese Bishop. He was over 50 years of age. He reminded the Company of the difficulty they had at the time he arrived in 1701 in persuading any Roman Catholic priest to go to the West Coast [6] to minister to the Portuguese soldiers in the Company's service; how anxious they were about this; how Governor Pitt had put up a notice at the Sea Gate holding out large promises of gratitude to any padre who would go; how the 'black Canarine priests,' meaning the Portuguese clergy of St. Thoma, would not go [7]; and how he

[1] Letter, 12 Jan. 1710–11: Edward Harrison being Deputy Governor of Fort St. David.

[2] Consultations, 12 June 1712.

[3] Letter, 14 Oct. 1712, 157.

[4] Letter, 29 Sept. 1714, 80.

[5] *Company's Records, Home Series*, Miscellaneous, vol. 59.

[6] Meaning Bencoolen in Sumatra.

[7] Some of the Portuguese clergy were of mixed blood; there is no reason to suppose that all were; the term Canarine probably refers to the place of their education, Cranganore in the Canara country.

had come to their assistance and obtained two Theatine priests for the purpose. He further reminded the Company that according to the decree of the Congregation of Cardinals at Rome no Bishop could molest him; meaning that he was just the person the Company required for the spiritual charge of their subordinates—one who had no episcopal superior. He reminded them of the power of the jus padroada [1] of the King of Portugal, 'which the Portuguese make such a noise about'; and he asked them to establish him so firmly at Cuddalore 'that we may have no vexations with the Portuguese,' meaning by 'we' apparently himself and his order.

The Company gave no reply to the letter. It was true that they had had a difficulty in getting a padre for Bencoolen, and that consequently they had had a difficulty in getting the Portuguese soldiers to stay there.[2] The latter difficulty was solved as soon as the Theatine padres arrived. When Joseph Collet went as Chief of Fort York in 1712 he took with him a large bell, which the Company had sent out with him as a present for the Portuguese Church there.[3] It may probably be regarded as connected with the policy of conciliating and pleasing the Portuguese soldiers in their employ.

In 1715 Padre Paulo de Saa, who spent the last few years of his life at Fort St. George, died; and Padre Emmanuel de Silva was licensed to officiate at Cuddalore in his place.[4] Padre Paulo lived in his own house in James Street; when he died he left it by will to the Congregation de Propaganda Fide for the use of such Italian Missionaries as happened to touch at Fort St. George on their way to their several missions. The will being proved, the Council met to consider its provisions; and it was agreed that the matter be enquired into and debated before any person be permitted to take possession, 'there being good reason to suspect that the Italians have a design of establishing themselves here in opposition to the Capuchins of the Portuguese Church.'[5] They at once wrote to the Directors; but while waiting for their reply they

[1] The right of patronage which the King of Portugal possessed in all episcopal appointments in India by right of treaty with the Papal Court.
[2] General Letter to Fort York (Bencoolen), 11 March 1703.
[3] Consultations, 12 June 1712. [4] Do. 9 Feb. 1715–6.
[5] Do. 2 Aug. 1715.

allowed the Abbé de Cordeiro, the agent of the Congregation in question, to take possession of the house, dwell in it, and keep it in repair, 'till the Company's pleasure be further known' or 'till he finds opportunity to dispose of it to advantage.'[1]

The Governor and Council did well in making enquiry; the Congregation was and is a Roman Catholic Board of Missions with its headquarters at Rome. At any time its interests might be either placed or taken under the protection of a foreign power. The question, therefore, had a political as well as an ecclesiastical bearing. The Directors recognised this and replied promptly[2]:—

'In answer to your 107th para. per Kent, we say that you were in the right to forbid any person taking possession of Padre Paolo de Saa's house till you had well considered the matter, and had received our orders what to do. Our orders are that the Congregation de Propaganda Fide, to whom that house is bequeathed by will and by deed of gift, may have liberty to dispose of it to whom they please except a foreign ecclesiastic, but that they shall not be permitted to reside in it themselves; nor will we suffer any one else who is a priest of any religious order of the Church of Rome to be there, unless it be one or other of your Capuchins; for we will have no others of that religion to inhabit or sojourn as such with you; they never come for good; and we ought not to give them an opportunity to do mischief or create quarrelsome disputes as was beginning some years ago, and will be attempted again and again by such sort of people. . . .

'We hear the Capuchins now with you are in your interest and will not secretly endeavour to do you mischief; wherefore let them continue with you, and suffer no other priests of their religion to disturb them, or (if you know it) to sojourn within our Town or its Dependancys.'

The Abbé was informed of this decision, and was given the opportunity of delay to dispose of the house himself. As he took no action beyond saying that he had no authority either to sell the house or to take money on that account, the matter came before the Council again.[3] At this meeting it was

[1] Consultations, 20 Oct. 1715. [2] Despatch, 25 Jan. 1715–6, 82.
[3] Consultations, 15 July, 25 July, and 4 Oct. 1717.

reported that there was another house in the English town left on the same account. It was agreed, therefore, 'to sell both and to credit the Company with the proceeds till such time as some person produces a proper power for receiving it.' In the proceedings the house—presumably the one left by de Saa—is described as the Theatine Mission House, and as being situated in James Street. It was sold to Mr. Rawson Hart in July; and the proceeds were received three months later by Padre Thomas, one of the Capuchins of the place, by the authority of the head of the Theatine order at Goa.

In the year 1719 it came to the knowledge of the Governor that the Portuguese priests of St. Thoma had taken the liberty to marry some English people belonging to Fort St. George contrary to the Company's regulations, 'which practise he apprehended to be of dangerous consequence; many of the young gentlemen in the Company's service being of good families in England, who would be very much scandalized at such marriages.'[1] There were two cases; the Chief Officer of the Company's ship Falconbridge married the daughter of a Frenchman of Fort St. George; and a soldier named Dutton married Ann Ridley, daughter of a former Governor of the West Coast.[2] In the former case the bride refused to be married at St. Mary's because of the regulation of 1680, by which the children of all marriages between Protestants and Roman Catholics were ordered to be brought up as Protestants. The Chief Officer, an Englishman by race and religion, consequently renounced his religion for Romanism, and was married by a Portuguese padre at St. Thoma. In the latter case the bride was a Church orphan, a ward of the Ministers and Churchwardens, who refused their consent to the marriage on the ground that the man of her choice was not her social equal.[3]

The Governor and Council were forced to take the acts into consideration, because they were in defiance of authority.[4] First they showed their displeasure of the action of the Portuguese padres of St. Thoma by forbidding them the

[1] Consultations, April and May 1719.
[2] These were afterwards married at St. Mary's, 4 May 1719.
[3] He is described in the Consultations as 'one Dutton, an ordinary fellow.'
[4] Consultations, 2 April 1719.

liberty of coming within the English bounds till further notice. Then they agreed to publish an order in English and Portuguese, and to put it up at the Sea Gate and at the Portuguese Church in the Fort, 'that if any Christian inhabitant of Madras shall be married in this city, at St. Thoma, or elsewhere, without leave from the President, if he be in the Company's service he shall be liable to such penalty as we shall think fit; but if the person so offending shall not be in the Company's service, and only a free merchant or inhabitant of the town, he shall be expelled the English Government on the Coast of Choromandell. Also any parent consenting to or promoting such marriage, without leave as aforesaid, shall be liable to the like penalty of expulsion.'

The Council rightly imposed a penalty with a view to prevent marriages which were not legal in England. Succession to family property and family honours depends on legitimacy; so that a civilized government was bound to do something to protect society from the effect of thoughtless action; the Council could not have done less than it did. But besides safeguarding interests of that kind, they had to consider if a regulation of their own, which had had the effect of causing the perversion and irregular marriage of one of the Company's superior servants, was any longer politically necessary, and if it ought not to be repealed.

Before using hard expressions about the regulations of 1680 and the persons who drew them up and promulgated them, it is necessary to take into consideration the circumstances of the period when they were made. The distrust of all things and persons connected with Romanism then was due in a large degree to political causes; and the 1680 regulation was a precautionary measure due to the political needs of the time. Romanism was esteemed to be a political danger to popular government and progress, and a social danger to personal freedom. The regulation must be held to have been justified by the exigencies and dangers of the time. Forty years later the theory and practice of toleration had grown; and besides this the political danger had to some extent disappeared.

The Governor and Council came to the conclusion that the regulation ought to be repealed, and for these reasons :

1. That the obligation is in its own nature unjust, and a violation of that natural right which all parents have to educate their children in that religion they think most acceptable to God.

2. That such a promise can be no obligation on the conscience of any person, being unlawful in itself.

3. That the requiring such a promise may be attended with ill consequences, as in the instance now before us.

The regulation was therefore repealed. Persons still make ante-nuptial arrangements of the kind with regard to possible offspring privately, but no one is legally bound by them.

In 1721 the Capuchins of Fort St. George applied to the Governor for permission to rebuild their Church. This was readily granted 'in consideration of their good behaviour'; it is only necessary to notice that in the Consultation Book they are referred to as the Portuguese padres.[1]

Although the Company had shown from the beginning a firmly rooted dislike and distrust of the Roman Catholics at Fort St. George—a feeling not always shared by their servants abroad—the distrust was not reciprocated. On the contrary the Roman Catholic Missionaries, whether Portuguese Seculars or Theatines or Jesuits, had the utmost trust and confidence in the justice, probity and honour of the Company. In the year 1720 Padre L'Abbé,[2] the agent of the Jesuit Missionaries in China, applied to Governor Hastings at Fort St. George to be allowed to deposit 10,000 pagodas in the Company's Cash, and to receive in return a fixed sum of 600 pagodas a year. He wished to make an agreement with the Company which would prevent himself and his official successors and the Society to which he belonged from ever demanding back the capital sum so long as the annual interest was paid; but at the same time leave the Company liberty to repay the capital sum whenever they wished to do so. Governor Hastings and his Council referred home for instructions.

[1] Consultations, 10 April and 26 Oct. 1721.

[2] The Abbé de Cordeiro.

The letter does not exist, but this is the abstract of the paragraph[1] :—

'Padre L'abee has a bond to be paid 600 Pagodas a year for the 10,000 pagodas of the Jesuit Missionaries paid into cash; he can never demand the original sum unless we fail in paying the annuity; but the Company may pay it back.'

The Governor and Council received the sum on the understanding that no interest was to be paid till the Company's consent was received. At the same time the Padre Agent himself wrote to the Company in London on the subject. The Court of Directors replied as follows :—

'Fort General; 26th April, 1722.

'We have had application made us by Monsieur Labbe, agent for the French Jesuit Missionaries in China, to receive 10,000 pagodas of theirs into our cash at Fort St. George; that President Hastings had received the money conditionally to await our orders, though he had no occasion for any having a flowing cash; that said agent desires that the money may remain in our cash, and the proprietors be for ever dispossessed of the property thereof on the Company's yearly allowing them a reasonable interest. We have considered of the whole, and . . . . are willing to allow them a certain interest of six per cent, though it is one more than we pay here per annum, and hope it will be to their satisfaction.'

On the 25th February 1724 the Jesuit agent paid another 2000 pagodas into the Company's Cash; and received in exchange a 6 per cent. bond. A year later he obtained permission from the Court of Directors to deposit another 10,000 pagodas in their cash on the same terms. So that in 1725 the Company had received on behalf of the Jesuit Missionaries in China the sum of 22,000 Pagodas,[2] and had agreed to pay them a fixed interest at the rate of 6 per cent.

In the year 1725 a visit was paid to Fort St. George by Monsieur le Chevalier d'Albert, who commanded a ship of the French Navy. He afterwards wrote an account of his Eastern voyages, but it was never published; it remains to this day in

[1] Abstracts of Letters, 3 Feb. 1721–2, 133.

[2] The transactions are extracted by Wheeler (pp. 436–7), but he does not mention the condition attached to the loan, that the Company had the power to pay back the loan whenever they pleased.

manuscript in the National Library at Paris. He was most hospitably received by the Governor, saluted to his heart's content, and has recorded his general opinion of the place and the people. He says amongst other things [1] :—

'The English have a Church in the White Town, all the officers and employés being obliged to profess the Anglican religion. They have permitted Padre Thomas, a Capuchin, a man of the best character, wit, and ability, to build near their castle a Church both handsome and lofty, which ornaments the town and does honour to its founder, all the more that it is the English themselves who have paid the cost.'

The extract is a testimony to the really liberal spirit of the Fort St. George merchants. The Church was not built with the assistance of the Company's cash. The Chevalier must have got his information from Padre Thomas; and the Padre must have told him that he was liberally assisted by the merchants in their private capacity.

Padre Thomas succeeded Padre Renatus as Superior of the Church of St. Andrew some time before 1721; the record of his appointment has not been found. He was instrumental in rebuilding the Church and the living chambers round the Church, the latter work being carried out in a handsome manner in the style of the Company's Guard room and Hospital.[2] It was during his incumbency that the system of allowing the Capuchin padres to grant probates of wills of deceased persons of their faith was modified. The system had worked well when the population was small—when there were no law courts nor lawyers—but it was impossible under the growing conditions of prosperity and increase. The Directors were therefore appealed to by the Governor and Council in 1728 and new regulations were made. A year later some mistakes were the cause of the following resolution [3] :—

'There being some mistakes arisen from the orders this year received from our Hon. Masters relating to proving wills in the Portuguese Church, Agreed that a note be affixed in the several languages at the Sea and Choultry Gates and at the

[1] This extract from the Manuscript, folio 131, was given to me by Mr. S. C. Hill of the Bengal Educational Department.

[2] Consultations, 14 Feb. 1729–30

[3] Do. 10 Oct. 1729.

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Portuguese Church to explain the same. And to give notice that any person of the Romish communion is at liberty to take out probates of wills or letters of administration in that Church, but that they are not compelled to do it. Also that by so doing they are not entitled to a right of sueing any subject of England or other person who is not of that communion. And that although the priests of that Church are allowed to grant such probates or letters of administration to such as request the same of them, yet that they have no authority to examine or decide any controversy between man and man, or to do or to execute any other judicial act whatsoever.'

After this date nothing appears in the public records about the Roman Catholics until 1744. In April 1742 Padre Thomas, the Superior and Chief Pastor of the Roman Catholic Church died. Padre Severini (who, if one may judge by his name, was an Italian) was appointed by the Governor to succeed to the office of Superior; but it was not thought necessary to authorise him by a regular instrument. He continued in his office for nearly two years, conducting himself to the general satisfaction of both rulers and ruled, when the equanimity of the Government was disturbed by the arrival of a decree from Europe appointing some one else. The incident is described in the Consultation Book thus[1]:—

'The President acquaints the Board that . . . . . . a paper under the hand of the Provincial of the Convent of Tauris and the seal of his office called a Decree, and said to be sent out of France by the way of China, appeared in town about the 5th instant, whereby Padre Renatus,[2] a Frenchman by birth and a junior brother who has hitherto acted under Severini, is appointed Apostolic Missionary and the Guardian of the Missions in the Indies and Persia; a title though not exactly the same with that Severini is known by of Superior and Chief Pastor of the Church of St. Andrew of this town, yet the influence it carries with it will render it so like in its effects that he looks on it only as an artful attempt to invade the Hon. Company's right of appointing who shall be Superior in ecclesiastical matters over the great number of our inhabitants of the Roman Catholic profession, a privilege necessary to the Company's honour and interests and to the welfare and

[1] Consultations, 10 Feb. 1743–4.

[2] Second of the name.

good government of the town, and (as occasion offered) so jealously maintained by our predecessors, as often approved by our Hon. Masters, that he therefore recommends to the Board to consider of the steps proper to be taken on this affair.'

After searching the records and finding precedents it was 'resolved and ordered that an instrument be drawn out appointing Padre Severini Superior and Chief Pastor of the Church of St. Andrew in this town on the model of that given on a like occasion by the President and Council in February 1707.' It was also resolved that the instrument be translated into Latin, and that an order (also in Latin) be given by the Secretary to Padre Severini directing him to read the instrument of induction, or cause it to be read, publicly in his Church on the following Sunday, the Secretary being present.

Five days later the Secretary reported to the Council that the instrument had been duly read as ordered both in Latin and in Portuguese by Padre Renatus.[1] The instrument was entered in the Consultation Book both in Latin and English. This is the Latin version :—

'Reverendis Patribus Severini cæterisque Capucinis Ecclesiæ Sti. Andreæ in urbe dicta Madraspatnam.

'Quandoquidem Reverendus Pater Thomas in Ecclesia vestra nuper principalis mense aliquando Aprilis A.D. 1742 diem obiit, et Reverendus Pater Severini permissu nostro istius officio ita exinde functus est ut nobis satisfecerit :

'Nos jam per præsentes hasce literas nuper dictum Patrem Severini Ecclesiæ Sti. Andreæ sub jurisdictione nostra positæ, supremum et primarium pastorem confirmamus; et illi et vobis idem Romanæ Catholicæ Fidei exercitium quod antecessores vestri exercuerunt concedimus; plenam exigentes et totam obedientiam ab illo cæterisque vestrum erga administrationem nostram; quam quamdiu præstiteritis, tamdiu præsidium vobis et tutamen nostrum confirmamus; volumusque ut concessionem hanc durante nostro, et solum nostro bene placito exerceatis.

'Datum sub manibus nostris et sigillo Honorabilis Societatis Anglicanæ ad Indos Orientales re conjuncta negotiantium in urbe dicta Fort St. George hac die decima Februarii A.D. millesimo septuagentissimo quadragesimo tertio.'

[1] Consultations, 15 Feb. 1743–4.

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This was signed by the Governor and Council, Nicholas Morse, William Monson, Thomas Eyre and four others.

The Capuchin padres had now to consider what was the best thing to be done. Renatus was appointed chief of the mission by the head of his Order; and Severini was appointed by the local Government. After two months' consideration they adopted the course of doing what was best for the mission; they submitted to the ruling power. Padre Renatus waited upon the Governor, produced his commission signed by the Vicar General of his Order, and said that as the Board had already determined to continue Padre Severini as Chief Pastor of the Church, he should in no manner disobey the orders in that respect but submit entirely to them.[1] The President commended his decision and recommended him to observe all orders punctually, that thereby peace and good order might be preserved amongst the fathers of the Church.

The Directors in their next General Letter referred to the incident thus [2] :—

'The Church must never be independent of the State, nor the French suffered to intermeddle in our affairs, are maxims of such true policy, that we entirely approve your proceedings as to Father Severini.'

Paragraph 50 of the same letter shows that Severini had in 1744 written direct to the Company in London and made a request. This was the reply :—

'Padre Severini having represented to us that he hath money in his hands bequeathed towards erecting a hospital for female orphans at your place, and desiring to pay the same into our cash, we direct that you receive any sum not exceeding 6000 pagodas as he shall offer to pay in accordingly; and that you allow him 6 per cent per annum interest thereon; but we reserve to ourselves the liberty of paying off the principal whenever we shall think fit.'

This letter arrived at Fort St. George in August 1745. In the following February Severini deposited 6000 pagodas in the Company's cash, and an account was opened with the

[1] Consultations, 28 April 1744. [2] Despatch, 7 Feb. 1744–5, 42.

heading The Roman Catholic Female Orphan House.[1] On the same day Severini wrote to the Directors[2] acknowledging the loan to be made on the same terms and subject to the same conditions as that made by Padre L'Abbé in 1720, and informing them that the money had been paid into the Treasury for the support and maintenance of the Roman Catholic female orphans in the town of Fort St. George.

In 1746 Fort St. George and the walled town of Madras were surrendered to a French naval and military force under Admiral La Bourdonnais.

[1] Consultations, 17 Feb. 1745–6. [2] *Home Series*, Miscellaneous, vol. 59.

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CHAPTER XII

CHURCHES FOUNDED BEFORE 1746

1. *St. Francis' Cochin.*—All the Church buildings which were erected before 1746 in the Presidency and Diocese of Madras, with the exception of St. Mary's Fort St. George, and which are now the trust property of the Government, have come into the hands of Government either by treaty with foreign powers or by arrangement with the local owners. The oldest of all the Churches in our possession is that of St. Francis' Cochin; it therefore has a right to the first place in this chapter.

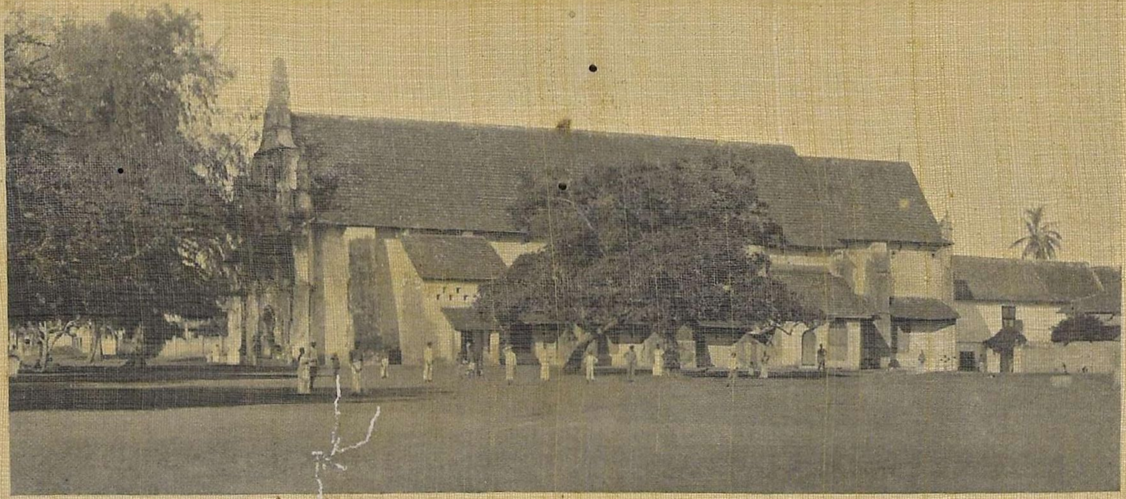
In the year 1503 Albuquerque, the great Portuguese Governor of the Indies, visited Cochin. Having obtained the permission of the Rajah to erect a Factory for trade, and to protect it with a Fort, he commenced to build. He was accompanied by some Franciscan friars, who were assisted at the same time to build a Church for the Portuguese residents and a Community chapel for themselves. The Church was built and dedicated to the service of God in honour of the Holy Cross, after which it was called; and the Chapel was in due time completed and dedicated in honour of St. Francis of Assisi, the founder of the Franciscan Order. Both were duly consecrated. Local historical evidence and local tradition together assert that the Church of St. Francis was commenced in 1505; it is not known how long a time was occupied in the building of it; but it was certainly finished before 1524. For in that year Vasco da Gama, Viceroy of India and Admiral of the Indian Sea, visited the Fort; and dying there on Christmas Eve, his body was given a temporary resting place at his own desire within its sanctuary. Here it remained for

fourteen years, when it was taken to Portugal. There is a broken sepulchral stone in the Church at the present day inscribed with the word Vasco; and this has been thought to be the stone which covered his remains at one time. But the coat of arms on it is not that of the da Gama family; and so the memorial must be of some other Portuguese official. The Portuguese remained in possession of the Cochin Fort and Church for 160 years; at the end of that time, that is in 1663, they were attacked by the Dutch and lost several of their eastern possessions including Cochin.

The Dutch took the Franciscan Church for their own place of worship; and, being very intolerant of Romanism, they made use of the Cathedral of the Santa Cruz as a storehouse, instead of leaving it for the use of the many Roman Catholics amongst the natives and the domiciled population of mixed descent, who by conquest became their subjects. The Dutch retained possession of Cochin for 132 years, that is until 1795, when they surrendered that and other possessions in India and Ceylon to the East India Company. In 1803 all the Danish, Dutch and French possessions in the East Indies which had been conquered during the war were to be restored to their former owners by the Treaty of Amiens. Cochin, therefore, ought to have ceased to be a British possession in that year; but the Dutch were not ready to re-occupy it; it became the property of the Company after the Treaty of Paris.

During the Dutch occupation there were of course many alterations in the perishable part of the structure, such as the wood work of the roof and of the internal fittings. But the walls remained the same, and are the same now; and the floor, mostly consisting of inscribed memorial stones, remained also; these were added to from time to time as distinguished Dutchmen died, and were laid to rest within the hallowed walls side by side with those who were both their ancient enemies and their brother Christians.

When the British Force took possession of the Fort the authorities did not enter into possession of the Church. At that time the Honourable East India Company not only did not own a single Church in India, but had no intention of burdening itself with ownership Ownership meant expendi-



ST. FRANCIS', COCHIN.
The first Church built in India for Europeans.

ture over repairs; it meant the appointment of Chaplains and Church Keepers; and the Company was not as yet prepared to spend more money than it was already spending over its ecclesiastical affairs. The Church therefore was left in the possession of the Dutch community of the place, who provided and paid, with the assistance of the Dutch East India Company, their own Minister.[1]

Cochin was visited by Bishop Middleton in 1816. The Christian community, consisting mostly of persons of pure and mixed Dutch descent, petitioned the Bishop to send them a Minister. From this petition it appears that the Church and school had been shut up since the death of the Dutch predicant P. Cornelisz in 1801, which means that when the Dutch Company regained possession in 1803 they were not in a position financially to favour the settlement with the services of a Chaplain. The petitioners complained that the children were unbaptised and untaught; and that the sick and poor were neglected. The Bishop forwarded the petition to the Governor of Fort St. George, and strongly recommended that a clergyman should be sent. The first clergyman sent was the Revd. Walter R. M. Williams M.A.,[2] who was appointed a Chaplain in 1816. Assuming that he arrived in India at the end of the year, he must have been sent at once to Cochin; for his name appears in the India List of 1818 as stationed there. One of his first efforts was to establish a free School for the many children of the place who came under his influence. To do this effectually he raised from amongst the residents a Charity Fund, and in a short time had his school in working order. But he did not live long. In 1823 the Governor and Council of Fort St. George wrote to the Directors reporting his death, and added that they had placed the free School in charge of Mr. Duncan the Clerk under the superintendence of the Magistrate of Malabar. They mentioned that it was in a prosperous financial condition; and that it was composed of Protestants, Roman Catholics, and Hindus. The Directors replied[3] regretting the death of Mr. Williams, and approving

[1] The name of the Dutch Minister up to 1801 was Cornelisz. He is occasionally mentioned in the Fort St. George Consultation Books.

[2] Despatch, 12 June 1816, 159, Mil.

[3] Do. 28 July 1824, 48–50, Eccl.

the arrangement made, which continued until Mr. Duncan died in 1832.

There arrived in Madras at the beginning of 1818 two C.M.S. missionaries Henry Baker and Joseph Fenn. They had the permission of the Company to proceed to India, and to carry on their work wherever they saw an opening. It was not long before they either saw an opening at Cochin or were invited by the Chaplain to take advantage of an opening which he saw. They were certainly there in 1821; for the return of European baptisms, marriages and burials was made to the Senior Presidency Chaplain by the Rev. Henry Baker at the end of that year. The following year and for several years they were regularly made by the Rev. Joseph Fenn. These two missionaries of the C.M.S. adopted precisely the same policy as the S.P.C.K. missionaries; they ministered to the Europeans and the Eurasians, and prosecuted their native mission work at the same time; and they had the use of the Church for all their purposes. Ultimately Joseph Fenn followed the example of Henry Baker and went to the Travancore country. The Archdeacon of Madras paid a visit of inspection to Cochin soon after this change took place. He sent a good report of the work of the School to the Government. But the Protestant inhabitants, for whose special educational benefit the fund had been raised, were not apparently satisfied with the method of administration. Soon after the death of Duncan they sent a petition to the Government of Fort St. George regarding it. The Government made a fresh arrangement and reported as follows to the Directors[1]:—

'The Archdeacon having submitted to us a report of the Free School established at Cochin by the late Revd. Mr. Williams, we signified that we were highly pleased with the success which has attended that gentleman's exertion; and on the Archdeacon's recommendation we sanctioned the continuance of the Clerk and Sexton in the service.

'We received petitions from S. I. Dupon and others, inhabitants of Cochin, respecting the Free School of that place, stating that on the death of the late teacher, the Institution had ceased to be carried on, as no one would undertake the

[1] Letter, 4th Jan. 1833, 1, 3, 4, Public.

duties on account of the small salary attached to it. They submitted a correspondence with the principal Collector of Malabar respecting the appropriation of the Funds, and begged that the request contained in their letter to him of the 15th of September 1832 regarding its establishment might be complied with.

'The Collector transmitted at our desire a statement of the Funds belonging to the Institution; and upon his report we resolved that a copy of his letter should be furnished to the Archdeacon of Madras, and to the Accountant-General; and that authority should be given for vesting the Funds of the Institution in the name of the Archdeacon; and that the interest accrueing therefrom, together with the subscriptions of the inhabitants of Cochin, and the cash in deposit with the Magistrate of Malabar, should be appropriated to the objects of the Institution under the orders of the Archdeacon.'

After the Archdeacon's visit Cochin was made an out-station of Quilon, where there was a Chaplain and a large body of troops; and the Chaplain of Quilon was ordered to make periodical visits. This arrangement continued until 1853. During its continuance the Church was repaired by the Government on the representation of the visiting Chaplain at a cost of Rs. 902[1] in 1836; and again in 1852 at a cost of Rs. 817. In 1843 when the Rev. R. W. Whitford was Chaplain of Quilon, the inhabitants desired to have a resident clergyman of their own. With the consent of the Bishop they entered into negotiations with the Diocesan Committee of the S.P.G., offering to hand over the Church to the Society, on condition that the Society provided them with a resident clergyman. The Diocesan Committee accepted the offer. The Bishop reported the arrangement to the local Government; and asked the Government to do the necessary repairs, amounting to Rs. 620, on the ground that the Church was used by the Company's officers. The Government complied, and reported what had been done to the Directors.[2] It so happened that at this time the Directors were trying to carry out a policy of dissociating themselves from the work of Missionary Societies; and of putting an end to the joint use of

[1] Despatch, 8 Jan. 1836, 2. [2] Letter, 11 March 1845, 1, Eccl.

Church buildings by European and native congregations. They replied therefore thus[1]:—

'This Church was considered to belong to the Dutch inhabitants of Cochin; and is stated by the Bishop to have been made over by them to the Missionary Society.

'A grant of money for repairing a Church which is exclusively the property of a Missionary Society, and at which a Missionary clergyman alone officiates, is inconsistent with the principles we have often laid down; and we must desire that a proceeding which would not have been sanctioned, had a previous reference been made to us, be not repeated.'

The Fort St. George Government replied to this, after making enquiry about the ownership of the Church, that they did not recognise the Church to be the property of the Missionary Society; but that they looked upon Cochin as an out-station of Quilon.[2] They also forwarded the correspondence which had passed between them and the local officials on the subject, including the Collector of Malabar, the visiting Chaplain at Quilon, and the Lay Trustee of St. Francis' Church. This correspondence has not been preserved; but it is evident from the Directors' next Despatch that though they were not satisfied with the evidence, they accepted the conclusion of the local Government that the ownership of the Church had lapsed to themselves; and they expressed their dissatisfaction by proposing that the Church should be handed over to the S.P.G., if they would provide a permanent minister for it.[3]

'The claim of the Government does not appear to be substantiated by evidence; the individual opinion of the Lay Trustee being the only evidence you have adduced in favour of your view.

'Whatever may have been the circumstances of the Church in former days, it seems that it has now lapsed to the Government for want of other rightful claimants. This being the case, we should prefer that it were made over entirely to the S.P.G., subject to the condition of permanently providing a minister for it; but should that Society object to take it on those terms, we approve of your having allowed the inhabitants of Cochin free use of the Church for a minister of

[1] Despatch, 10 March 1847, 2, Eccl. [2] Letter, 17 Aug. 1847, 8, Eccl.
[3] Despatch, 22 Aug. 1849, 3, 4, 5, Eccl.

their own, and of your having authorised them to admit an agent of the Society to minister in it.

'While this arrangement continues no disbursement of public funds for repairs or improvements is to be made, and you will abstain from all connection and interference in its concerns.'

The Directors apparently wished the Missionary Society to educate the children of the domiciled Eurasian population, and to provide the ministration of religion for their servants and subordinates free of charge to themselves. But this was manifestly an unfair requirement. The Madras Diocesan Committee of the S.P.G. felt it to be so. The local Government itself felt it to be so. Ministration of the kind was recognised to be expedient and profitable. Should the cost of it be a charge upon the revenues of the Government, or be found by a few charitable persons in England interested in the propagation of the Gospel? There could be but one answer to the question put in that way. The Government of Fort St. George accordingly wrote[1] that the Diocesan Committee of the S.P.G. declined to receive charge of the Church at Cochin, as they were unable to comply with the condition of perpetually providing a clergyman for the performance of the English service.

The Diocesan Committee of the Society, when they wrote to the Government, made a statement which shows that they had either consciously or unconsciously, purposely or by mistake, commenced a new policy. They gave as the ground of their refusal that the Society was 'in this country a missionary society for the benefit of the natives.' When they took over the work of the S.P.C.K. they also took over a good deal of property; and they took the over subject to the conditions under which the property was originally given and held. They were pledged to work among all classes just as the S.P.C.K. had done, and just as the Society had ever done in every other part of the world.

Two years later the Directors wrote[2] to enquire what arrangement had been made for the custody of the Church, 'with reference to our desire that the joint occupancy of it by

[1] Letter, 1 Feb. 1850, 3. [2] Despatch, 31 March, 1852, 5.

your Government and the Missionary Society should be terminated'; and also what provision had been made for the due performance of divine service in it.

To this the Government of Fort St. George replied[1] that a clergyman had been stationed at Cochin by the Additional Clergy Society of the Diocese, to which Society the Church had been made over, so long as it provided a resident clergyman of the Church of England at Cochin. At the same time the Government enclosed an application from the Bishop for a grant of Rs. 125 a month to meet the expense, on the ground that the English ministrations were largely to officials and subordinates of the Government; and mentioning that Rs. 53 a month would be saved by the discontinuance of the visits of the Quilon Chaplain. The Directors then began to understand the financial side of the question, and replied as follows[2]:—

'The arrangement here reported is in accordance with the wish we formerly expressed for the termination of the joint occupancy of this Church by your Government and the S.P.G.

'We are opposed as a general rule to grants from the public revenues in aid of the operations of voluntary religious Societies; but as it is not our wish, on the other hand, that the Government should derive any pecuniary advantage from the payment of clergymen by such associations, we authorise you to place Rs. 100 a month at the disposal of the Bishop.'

In 1868 this allowance was increased to Rs. 150 a month,[3] but within a short time it was again reduced to the former amount. The arrangement continued until 1898. From the time it was arrived at until it came to an end the Government liberally assisted in the cost of the repair of the structure and in the supply of furniture; giving sometimes one half and sometimes two thirds of the total cost. The congregation was sorely troubled at times to find all that was necessary. They had inherited from Dutch times some handsome silver plate, including a Font bason, an alms dish, and other smaller pieces for sacramental use. It is sad to relate that the larger pieces were sold to enable the Trustees to carry out necessary repairs in 1873. In 1887 the roof of the Church, which was

[1] Letter, 10 Aug. 1852, 18. [2] Despatch, 31 Aug. 1853, 18, 19.
[3] G.O. 8 Aug. 1868, No. 169, Eccl.

ZION CHURCH, TRANQUEBAR.
The Official Church of the Danish East India Company.

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of teakwood, required extensive repair. The Government consented to carry out the work, and to preserve this historic relic of Portuguese times, on the condition that the building was handed over entirely to their care and trusteeship. Since that date the Church has been on the list of ecclesiastical buildings—a list which includes Roman Catholic as well as Presbyterian buildings—which are held in trust and kept in repair by the Government. The old Dutch Cemetery as well as the old English and the modern English cemeteries are equally cared for out of the Indian revenues.

There are 29 Portuguese and 19 Dutch monumental stones in the Church; the date of the earliest is 1546, and of the latest 1789. These were at one time on the floor of the Church covering graves. They are now placed round the walls to prevent the gradual obliteration of the inscriptions; and a substantial flooring has been put in their place. There are only four tablets to the memory of Englishmen, three being of brass and one of marble. The brasses are memorials of Dr. Morgan, J. H. Aspinwall Esquire, and the Honourable Mr. H. B. Grigg, formerly British Resident of Travancore and Cochin. The marble tablet is a memorial of the Revd. A. F. Sealy. As an Educational Officer he was for 27 years Lay Trustee of St. Francis' Church, and took a cordial and sympathetic interest in all its concerns. On his retirement from the Service he offered himself to the Bishop of Madras for ordination, in order that he might continue to serve as a Priest those whom he had so long served as a faithful layman. His offer was accepted, and he was duly ordained; and he worked for a year amongst a people who greatly regarded him; and then God took him; and the people dedicated this handsome memorial of him.

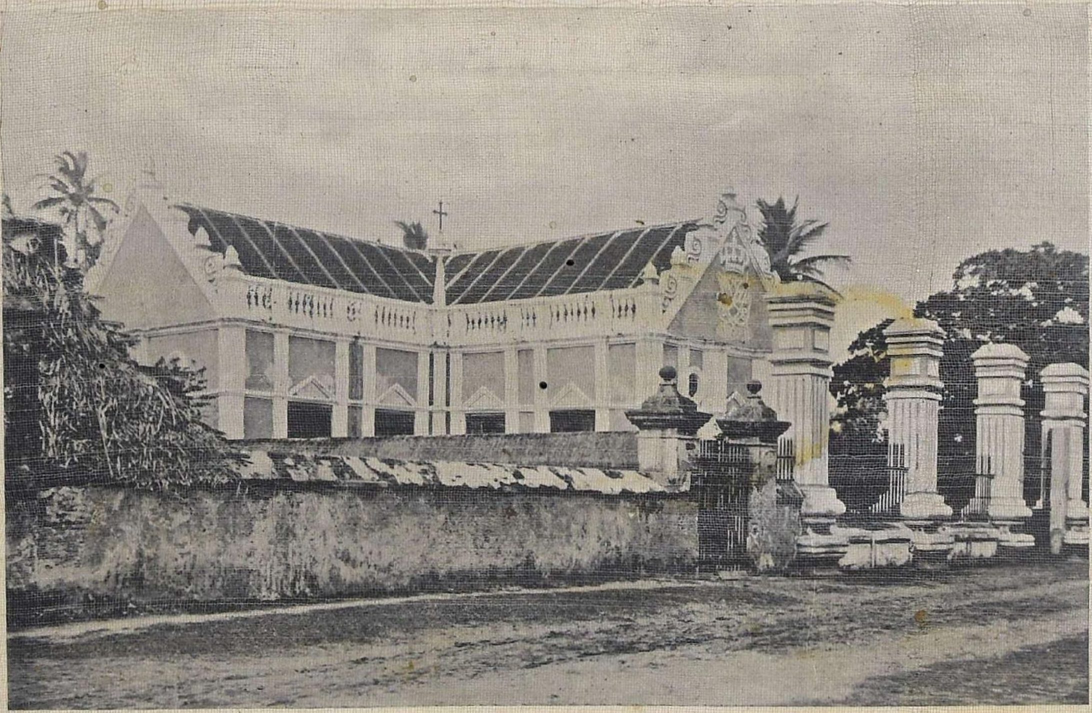
The Lectern was the gift of Mr. Sealy in his early days. The carved teak and ebony Pulpit and Reading Desk were the gift of Francis Henry Crozier, of the Madras Civil Service, fifty years ago. They are two of the many memorials in the Diocese of his Christian zeal and churchmanship.

2. *Zion Church, Tranquebar.*—This is the second oldest Church in the Diocese in the trust ownership of the Government. The Danish East India Company was incorporated by

Royal Charter at Copenhagen in 1612, and sent out a vessel to search for a settlement on the Coromandel coast, where they could commence trading operations. It was not till 1620 that they found a place they considered suitable. This was Trincombar. The Danish Admiral in command of the expedition at once entered into negotiations with the Rajah of Tanjore, and purchased the coast village. Following the wise example of the Dutch they commenced to build a Fort, and at the same time laid the foundations of the Church. The early Ministers, like those of the London East India Company, were engaged for voyages, involving an absence abroad of about three years. From the time of their arrival on the coast till their departure they ministered to the Company's servants ashore, sometimes staying longer than their covenanted time. Later on they were appointed as Pastors of Zion Church, and received extra remuneration and a free passage for officiating as Chaplains on the voyage out and home. It was to this place that the first Protestant Missionaries came in 1706; and it was here they built the first Protestant Mission Chapel in 1717; and from this place as a centre radiated for 120 years a bright light of Christian effort throughout the South of India. Two of the devoted pioneers are buried in the Chapel they erected to the glory of God, Ziegenbalg on the north side of the altar, and Grundler on the south side. When Ziegenbalg and his first companion, Plütschau, arrived at the settlement the Danish Governor assured[1] them that he neither could nor would hinder their design; but he expressed a wish that what they did might be done publicly in the Government Church. He arranged with the Danish Chaplains that they should have the use of the Church once a week; and in this Church the first five converts were baptised in 1707.[2] These were the first fruits of the Danish Mission. The Missionaries continued to use Zion

[1] S.P.C.K. Report, Part i. published 1718; Fenger's *Tranquebar Mission*, p. 35.

[2] Fenger, page 35. They must not, however, be understood to be the first non-Roman native Christians; the Dutch were quietly busy with mission work all through the previous century; and the English Ministers at Fort St. George were not unmindful of this duty. The St. Mary's Registers begin in 1680; the baptism of a slave is recorded in 1681.



NEW JERUSALEM CHURCH, TRANQUEBAR.
The Mission Church built by Ziegenbalg, 1717.

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Church for ten years; it may be assumed, therefore, that all the early baptisms of converts during that period took place in that building. The fact that the Church was the scene of the earliest labours and successes of Ziegenbalg, Plütschau, and Grundler adds greatly to its historic interest. After 1717 Zion Church ceased its direct connection with the Missionaries and their work; and remained the Church of the European officials until the capture of Tranquebar by the English in 1800. Probably no event in the history of British India was so greatly regretted as the necessity of making war upon the Danes, who were at the same time our peaceful neighbours, our esteemed kinsmen and our gallant allies. The Fort capitulated to Colonel Dugald Campbell, who had authority from the Government of Fort St. George to treat the Missionaries with special consideration. The Danish Government had for about 80 years made them an allowance of 300 pagodas a month to pay themselves and their agents, and to meet the cost of their missionary operations.

In 1802 Gericke addressed the Government,[1] pleading for a continuation of the allowances on the ground that the Tranquebar Missionaries were Danish Government officials, and that they ought to be treated in the same way as all other such officials. He pointed out that the Danish mission was not a charity but an institution founded by Royal Charter, and that the salaries of the agents were paid annually by His Majesty of Denmark. And he further represented the good they did among natives and Europeans by means of Churches, schools, poor relief, the dissemination of good literature, and by co-operation with English Missionaries.[2] The Government referred the matter to the Danish ex-Governor, General Anker, for his opinion; and ultimately continued the allowances and privileges pending reference to the Directors. The Directors acquiesced in the principle of the arrangement but reduced the allowance to 200 pagodas a month. The Danish Chaplain of Zion Church returned to Europe; the Missionaries were put in charge of both Churches; and they kept up the services and the schools and

[1] Mil. Consultations, 25 March 1802.
[2] Meaning the German agents of the S.P.C.K.

the mission work until the town was restored to the Danes in 1817. The reduction of the Government grant made it necessary to reduce local expenses; this was done by closing some of the Tamil schools in the villages.

From 1817 to 1845 the Danes again ruled in their old settlement. At first the royal allowance was stopped, and the mission was placed under the superintendence of the Danish Chaplain. Bishop Middleton kept the work going by grants from a fund at his disposal until the royal allowance was resumed. The reduced amount of the allowance made it necessary to transfer a number of the district congregations to the Tanjore mission.[1] In 1845 the Danes sold the settlement to the East India Company. By this time there had grown up a want of sympathy between the English and the Danish missions, chiefly in consequence of a difference in policy on the caste question. The Christians of the Danish mission were not therefore affiliated or transferred to Tanjore as their fathers had been. They were taken over by the Leipsig Evangelical Lutheran Mission.

But the European and Eurasian congregation petitioned the Government of Fort St. George to take over the Church and its furniture, two burial grounds, and a fund of Rs. 6000, on the condition of providing the settlement with the services of an English Chaplain and paying a monthly establishment grant of Rs. 21. The local Government granted the petition, and sent the Revd. B. S. Clarke, Joint Chaplain of Trichinopoly, to be the first English Chaplain of Tranquebar. His duty was also to visit occasionally Negapatam, Tanjore, Combaconum, Dindigul and Madura; but this overwhelming duty was soon afterwards modified. The Directors wrote their approval[2]:—

'We approve of your having appointed one of the Chaplains of Trichinopoly to be permanently resident at Tranquebar. We approve of the arrangements regarding visits to out-stations; we doubt the expediency of making Dindegul and Madura out-stations of Tranquebar contrary to the recommendation of the Bishop.

[1] These were known for a long time as the transferred congregations.
[2] Despatch, 20 Oct. 1847, 15, 16, 17, Eccl.

TRANQUEBAR CHURCH PLATE.

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'The allowance of Rs. 80 given to the Missionary of the Church of England at Tanjore ordered to be discontinued.

'The interest of the Church Fund is to be devoted to the repair of the Church.'

The Directors evidently thought that the allowance given to the Missionary at Tanjore for ministering to the English residents there could be saved by making Tanjore an out-station of Tranquebar. But it was soon proved that a man's powers are limited; and the grant, which was originally sanctioned in 1826 at the request of Bishop Heber, was restored in 1851.[1]

Zion Church was licensed for all ecclesiastical uses in 1846 by Bishop Spenser.

Among the articles of Church furniture which were handed over to the Government in 1846 were three bells in the tower dated 1741, 1759, and 1791; and an old Danish clock. There is a black granite font with carved panels; and a massive silver bason, 15 inches diameter, which fits into it. On the bason is a crown surmounted by a cross above a monogram composed of the letters D.O.C. A Poor Box of brass, one foot high, stands on a pedestal of ebony, 15 inches high, in a corner near the chief entrance. This interesting relic of the 17th century is firmly fixed to the floor. The box is fastened by means of a padlock. There is an ebony stick with silver bands, 4 feet long, for handing round the offerings bag, dated 1687. A highly interesting carving in wood of the Last Supper forms an appropriate altar piece. But still more interesting are the Communion vessels. Of these there are two sets, one presumably for general use in the Church and one for travelling and private use. The former set has four pieces; a silver chalice, 9½ inches high, marked with a cross and with this inscription 'Zion's Kirkes, Alter Beoer i Tranquebar Fort 1689, A G H C Winther i Kiobenhaon'; a silver paten, 6 inches diameter, marked with a maltese cross on the top side and with a monogram composed of the letters H C W on the other side, undated; a richly chased ciborium, 4 inches by 2, unmarked and undated; and a silver flagon, 13 inches high, which is sur-

[1] Despatch, 16 July 1851, 4, Eccl.

mounted by a paschal lamb, and is engraved with two shields; on one side of these is the inscription 'Adrian Blanenhan Dorrethea Niels datter, Anno'; on the other is 'Christian Hansen Pouch Anna Maria Erics datter 1712.'—The latter set has three pieces only:—a silver gilt paten, 4 inches diameter undated; a silver gilt chalice, 5½ inches high, dated 1689; and a small silver gilt ciborium dated 1702; the small chalice has the inscription 'Christian Hanson Pouch Anna Maria Erics datter A.D. 1689.'

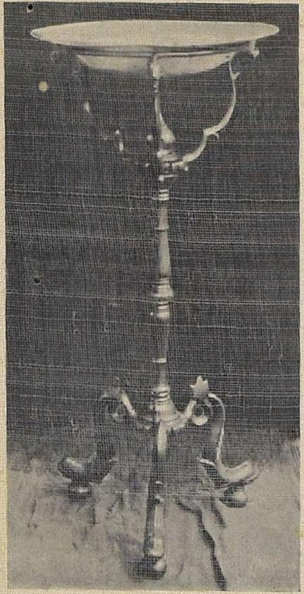
When the Church was handed over to the Madras Government in 1846 all the records and the registers were removed to Denmark.

Of the 57 Danish and German Missionaries who were connected with Tranquebar between 1706 and 1846, twenty died and were buried there, twenty-two died at other stations in the South of India, and only fifteen returned to their native country.

The system of placing Chaplains at Tranquebar and giving them the charge of small out-stations within one hundred miles distance lasted from 1846 till 1863. The number of Europeans and Eurasians in their charge gradually decreased, so that in the latter year it was discontinued. Only three Chaplains were stationed there, B. S. Clarke, H. Taylor, and R. P. Little. During the incumbency of B. S. Clarke repairs and improvements were undertaken twice at the expense of the Church Fund.[1] Larger repairs and improvements were undertaken in 1853 during the incumbency of the Rev. H. Taylor.[2] In 1879 the Fund, amounting to Rs. 10,286, was transferred to the Accountant General; and Rs. 1,020 were spent over the repair of the building and the furniture.[3]

3. *Pulicat Church.*—This Church is given the third place in this chapter because it is probably not quite so old as the Church at Tranquebar. There is no certain record of its building; but there are circumstances which point to its very early existence. Pulicat, or as it is written in the

[1] Consultations, 16 Nov. 1847, and 27 Nov. 1849.
[2] Do. 15 Nov. 1853 and 21 April 1854.
[3] G.O. 4 Sept. 1879 and 17 Dec. 1879.



SILVER FONT BASIN ON BRASS STAND,
PULICAT CHURCH.

POOR BOX,
TRANQUEBAR CHURCH.

early records, Palleacatta, is situated 25 miles north of Fort St. George on the sea coast. A river and a very extensive salt water lake have their exit into the sea at this point; they have between them made the island on which the Dutch in 1615 built their Fort and Factory. They made this place the Head Quarters of their Coromandel Agency until they took Negapatam, a larger and more commodious settlement, from the Portuguese in 1658. According to the historian of the Dutch East India Company,[1] Valentyn, the Dutch had a Preacher at Pulicat for the benefit of their Governor (Landvoorgden), their factors (Opperkoopleeden), and their subordinates as early as 1625. The Ministers of the Dutch Church were of two classes, Predicants and Dominees. The Predicants were the better educated men, who were licensed to preach; they received higher pay than the Dominees, whose functions were to read the printed forms of prayer, to teach the children, and to visit the sick. The Dutch only stationed Predicants at their more important stations, where there were Churches. Dominees were sent to the smaller factories where as a rule there were no Churches. It is this rule, which seems from Valentyn's History to be so invariable, which leads one to suppose that there was a Church building at Pulicat in the early part of the 17th century. Whether the building in existence at present was that building or not is another question. There is no reason to suppose that the walls are not the same. The Dutch were deliberately builders of strong enduring buildings. All their ancient settlements on the Coromandel coast and in Ceylon, which are now in the hands of the English, bear ample testimony to the endurance of their work. It is most unlikely that they adopted the unusual course of building a cheap Church at Pulicat to last a short time, and then replaced it with another; it was not their way. The probability is that the present plain but solidly built structure is coeval with the building of the Fort itself; and that the old Dutch monuments in the Churchyard, some of which belong to the first half of the 17th century, have been reared one by one under the shadow of the same old building.

[1] Valentyn's *History of the Dutch East Indies.*

In the middle of the 17th century the Dutch East India Company obtained possession of the Portuguese fort of Negapatam. The area was larger and more suitable for their purposes than Pulicat; so as soon as they had surrounded the town with walls and bastions, and built quarters for their civil and military servants, they moved the seat of government on the coast from Pulicat to the new station. With the Governor and the chief Dutch officials of the Company went the Predicant; and Pulicat remained for about 100 years subordinate to Negapatam.

When Fort St. George was surrendered to the French in 1746, Fabricius, the S.P.C.K. Missionary at Madras, was allowed to take refuge with his orphan children and some of his converts at Pulicat. The Dutch Governor received him kindly, appointed a place for him to live, and allowed him to carry on his mission work. This was the beginning of much subsequent intercourse between the Madras Missionaries and the Dutch congregation at Pulicat. Padre Severini of St. Andrew's Fort St. George was also allowed to take refuge with his orphan children in the Dutch Fort.

In 1781 Negapatam was taken from the Dutch by the English Company and not restored to them by the treaty of peace in 1785. Pulicat was therefore again made the seat of the Dutch government on the coast. The Dutch Chaplain accompanied the Governor, and took with him the Church plate which had been in use at Negapatam for about 100 years. It became necessary on the return of so many civil officials to restore and partially rebuild the Church. This was done in 1787. There is no reason to suppose that it was either made larger or smaller than before. It could never have been a large building; for such was not required for the inhabitants of a fort 300 feet square. Most probably the perishable wood work of the roof was repaired and the top of the walls strengthened to receive the new beams.

When Holland joined forces with France in 1795 Pulicat was one of the Dutch settlements in the East/captured by the British forces. The friendly intercourse between the Dutch residents and the Madras Missionaries already referred to made the plan of placing the Church and the congregation—

Europeans, Eurasians and natives—under the care of the Madras Missionaries not only a possible but also an acceptable one to the residents themselves.

At the time of the capitulation one of the Madras Missionaries was the trusted and greatly esteemed Gericke, and the other was his assistant C. W. Päzold. Gericke visited Pulicat regularly as an out-station of Vepery, his head quarters, until his death, and included it in his reports and returns to the S.P.C.K. in London, which employed him.[1] After the death of Gericke in 1803, Päzold continued as far as he was able the pastoral care of the congregation, and wrote his reports to the S.P.C.K. in London about it.[1] He expressed his regret in 1805 that they had no minister of their own; but he did what he could for them, Europeans as well as others, preaching in English, Dutch and Tamil as occasion required, baptising, churching and marrying as he had opportunity. It was at his instance in 1811 that the Government of Fort St. George appointed a Sexton and Church Keeper, to take charge of the building and its contents, as well as of the Burial ground around it.[2] Dr. Rottler was appointed to officiate as Minister in 1814.[3] In the year 1818 the Dutch possessions on the Coast which had been acquired in 1795 were restored to Holland; and Dr. Rottler's appointment came to an end. The Dutch Government then appointed a Minister of their own, Job C. Winckler. Six years later—that is, in 1824—all the Dutch possessions in India were transferred to the East India Company by Treaty, in return for certain advantages in the Straits. Mr. Winckler retained his office two years longer. He signed the Register Book for the last time on the 24th Dec. 1826, describing himself as 'Netherlandshe Zendeling se Madras.' Aitchison says that all the Dutch possessions in India were given up to Great Britain in 1824 without any reserve or condition.[4] However, the Pulicat congregation, headed by Mr. Winckler, claimed the ownership of the furniture in the Church; the congregation at Sadras followed suit; and both congregations asked the Government to maintain the Church establishment

[1] S.P.C.K. Reports, 1803, 1805, 1812, 1813.
[2] Despatch, 2 April 1813, 108.
[3] Do. 19 May 1815, 49.
[4] Aitchison's *Treaties of India*.

and the schoolmaster, as was done by the Dutch Government before. The Government of Fort St. George did not care to dispute the ownership of the Church furniture; and they were disposed to be liberal towards their new Dutch subjects. They therefore purchased the furniture both at Pulicat and Sadras[1]; and sanctioned a Church establishment at Pulicat amounting to Rs. 44 a month, and one at Sadras amounting to Rs. 24 a month, and they promised to maintain a schoolmaster at Pulicat on Rs. 25 a month until it was settled what should become of the Dutch inhabitants. The S.P.C.K. Missionaries at Madras, Dr. Rottler, J. L. Irion and L. P. Haubroe, continued between them to care for the spiritual interests of the congregations until 1836. From 1837 to 1839 the S.P.G.—to which Society the S.P.C.K. had handed over its Mission work in 1826—stationed one of its agents, the Revd. J. F. Goldstein, at Pulicat; his work was amongst all classes, and was greatly appreciated. When he was transferred to Trichinopoly in 1839, the Society had a difficulty in supplying his place. The Revd. Robert Carver, then stationed at St. Thoma, paid periodical visits between 1842 and 1845, when he died. After that date the European and the native work were divorced. The European work was ordered to be done by one of the Presidency Chaplains; and the mission work was continued by an agent of the S.P.G. This arrangement continued till 1899, when for convenience sake the mission was handed over to the C.M.S., whose agents could more easily reach the place than those of the sister Society.[2] In consequence of this the building was conditionally handed over by the Government to the Church Missionary Society; but the European records and the old Dutch Government plate were retained in the charge of the visiting Presidency Chaplain.

The Government repaired the Church and the Cemetery wall in 1831,[3] 1840,[4] 1848,[5] 1852,[6] and 1873.[7]

At the present time Pulicat is deserted by Europeans and Eurasians as a place of residence. The descendants of the

[1] Despatch, 12 May 1826, paragraphs 14–24.
[2] G.O. 10 July 1899, Eccl.
[3] Despatch, 20 Feb. 1833, 21, Eccl.
[4] Desp. 2 July 1841, 18, Do.
[5] Do. 22 Aug. 1849, 13, Do.
[6] G.O. 18 May 1852, Do.
[7] G.O. 29 Jan. 1873, Do.

old Dutch possessors have died out or gone elsewhere. The station is not sufficiently healthy to attract new comers. The native Christians find a better opening for themselves and their children in more modern towns, and have gradually deserted the place. Only the walls of the plain old Dutch Church, and the cemetery monuments remain to show what a history the old settlement has.

The plate, of which illustrations are given, is not of great intrinsic value, but it is of great historic interest. The silver Font bason is 18 inches in diameter; when in use it fits into its brass stand, which is itself worthy of notice. The workmanship of the stand is so crude, that it must have been made on the coast. That of the bason and the other silver articles is superior and is probably European. The bason and the alms dish have richly chased rims. The square paten with curved corners is 9¼ inches square. The chalice, which has a cover is, 8½ inches high. The alms dish has a diameter of 14 inches. There is no date or inscription on any of the pieces; but there is no doubt that their workmanship is of the 17th century.[1]

The date of the oldest monument in the Churchyard is 1651; but the ground was in use long before that date. The bell was re-cast in 1846, and bears that date. The walls of the old Fort were demolished in 1806.

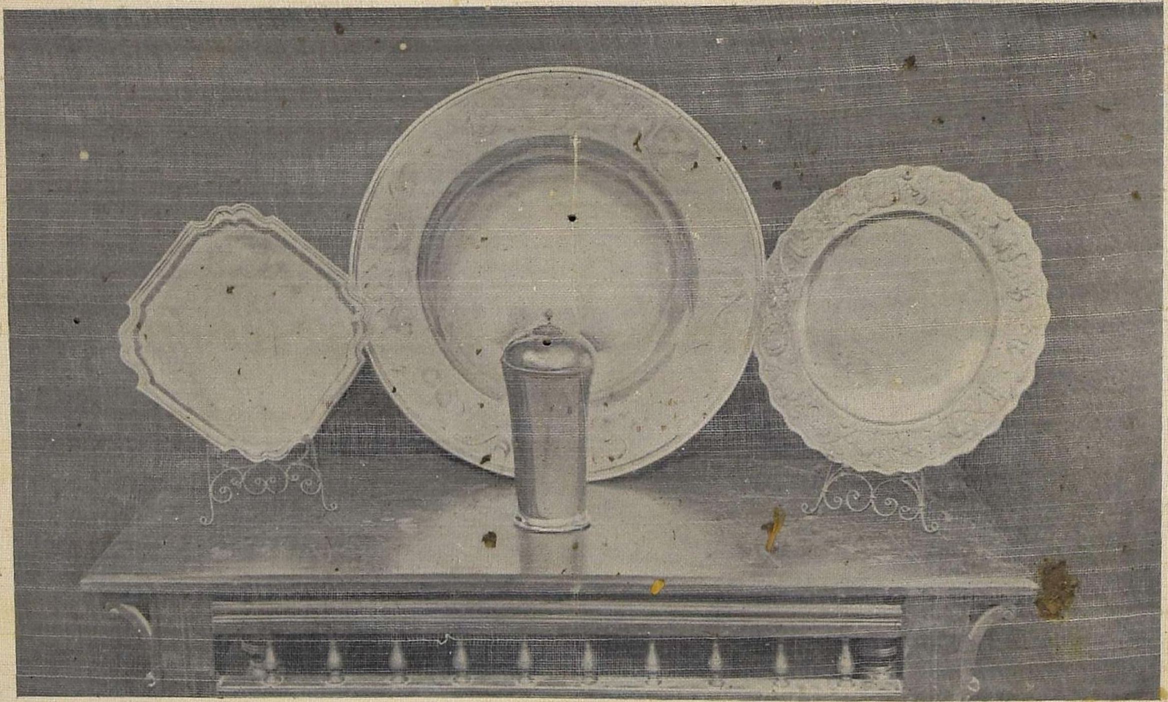
4. *St. Peter's, Negapatam.*—Negapatam, which is 20 miles south of Tranquebar, was one of the many coast towns on both sides of India where the Portuguese in the 16th century held sway. The Portuguese Missionaries followed, and sometimes went in advance of, the Portuguese flag. Here, as at other places on the coast, they obtained a great and lasting influence over the fisher caste. When the Dutch took possession of the Town in 1657, Baldaeus, the Dutch Minister and Predicant of Jaffnapatam, received orders from the Dutch Governor of Colombo to proceed to Negapatam and to report on the ecclesiastical requirements of the place. This he did in 1660. The Dutch had expelled the Portuguese Missionaries; but the Paravars (fisher folk) were so much devoted to their first Christian teachers, and so resentful of

[1] They were brought from Negapatam.

their expulsion, that they could not be persuaded to enter the Church where Baldaeus officiated, even though he preached in Portuguese. The Church mentioned here was not St. Peter's; it was probably a small building erected for the special use of the Paravars, with walls of sun-dried brick, floor of rammed mud, and a roof of palmyra wood covered with tiles, such as is seen in many a fishing village round the coast. The design and arrangement of St. Peter's is purely Dutch. The first Opperhoofd was appointed in 1657; and the first Predicant was appointed in 1660.[1] The appointment of a Preacher showed the importance of the place in the eyes of the Dutch themselves. Negapatam was a walled town on the coast of a rich district; it was nearer to all the Dutch ports in Ceylon than Pulicat, and therefore more convenient and more important commercially. In the town, whose walls the Dutch greatly strengthened and enlarged, there was room not only for merchants and merchandize but also for a large force of soldiers and for military stores. It was not long therefore before Negapatam became the Head Quarters of the Dutch Coromandel Agency. The appointment of a Preacher in 1660 leads one to suppose that the Dutch Government pursued its usual policy—usual in its larger and fortified settlements—of building a Church. There is an illustration of Negapatam in Valentyn's book, showing the Church with a tower and spire at the north east corner.[2] The tower no longer exists. The building has undergone various other changes; roofs have given place to roofs; but the walls, the floor, the heavy teakwood furniture, dark with age, the handsome carved pulpit reached through a staircase in the wall and overhung by a carved sounding board, the solid carved Altar rails and the massive heavy-looking Font, all belong to this early period of the Dutch occupation.

In 1732 the Danish Missionaries at Tranquebar began to work amongst the Tamil population of Negapatam with the consent and assistance of the Dutch Governor and the Dutch Minister.[3] Up to that time the Dutch Ministers had one after another made efforts among the Tamil subjects of the

[1] Valentyn's *History of the Dutch East Indies.*
[2] The date of the picture is 1715. [3] Pearson's *Life of Schwartz*, vol. i. 38.



THE SACRAMENTAL PLATE OF PULICAT CHURCH.
(Now in use at Madras.)

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Dutch Government. But as soon as the Danish Missionaries with their mastery of the Tamil language offered their services, the Dutch Ministers gladly left the matter in their hands. A catechist was sent from Tranquebar to instruct the native congregation under the superintendence of the Dutch Chaplain; and occasionally the Tranquebar Missionaries visited him themselves.[1] These men, after the first twenty years of the mission, were mostly Germans, educated at the University of Halle. Their mission was called the Danish mission because they worked under the patronage of the Danish King and lived at Tranquebar under the protection of the Danish Government. In the service of the Dutch East India Company were many German soldiers. The Tranquebar Missionaries made themselves useful to the Dutch Government in ministering to them.

In 1758 Messrs. Kohlhoff and Schwartz paid a visit to Negapatam, and were welcomed by the Dutch Governor and the gentlemen of the settlement. They remained some weeks, and were incessantly engaged in various religious services with both native and European Christians. They persuaded the Dutch officials of their duty to be the nursing fathers of the Church; so that the Governor promised to build a Church for the use of the native Christians. The promise was kept and the Church was built in the following year and dedicated to the service of God.[2] Schwartz paid a second visit to Negapatam in April 1759[3]; and a third visit in September 1760.[4] On all occasions the Missionaries ministered both to Europeans and natives, and conducted their ministrations in German, Portuguese and Tamil. These early visits were the beginning of a happy intimacy between themselves and the Dutch authorities, which lasted till the Dutch power came to an end. The native Chapel, which still stands on the beach, was built for the Tranquebar Missionaries, and was connected with the Tranquebar mission until the Danish mission stations were handed over to the S.P.C.K. in 1824.

It was probably in gratitude for the ministrations of these

[1] Hough's *Christianity in India*, vol. iii. 285, and Fenger.
[2] Pearson's *Life of Schwartz*, vol. i. 119, 120.
[3] Do. do. vol. i. 120, 121.
[4] Fenger, p. 206.

occasional visitors, Kohlhoff, Schwartz and Gericke, that the Dutch Governor of Jaffnapatam sent a large and costly present of timber to these S.P.C.K. Missionaries for their mission building purposes at Cuddalore. It was forwarded to them through the Governor of Negapatam with all charges paid.[1]

The Tranquebar Missionary C. W. Gericke became connected with the S.P.C.K. in 1767 when he went to Cuddalore. From that time what he did as a Missionary was done in the name of the Society which employed him; and he reported all that he did regularly year by year to his employers. He visited Negapatam henceforth from Cuddalore; and when he was driven from Cuddalore on its capture in 1781 he took up his abode there, and remained till he was called upon to take charge of the Vepery mission in 1789.

During these eight years he ministered in the native Chapel and conducted services in the old Dutch Church for the British troops of the garrison. The Church itself remained in possession of the Dutch Predicant and his wardens, and was used also by them for the necessary Dutch services. The Madras Government laid no claim to the building. In 1786 it became known that Negapatam was not to be given back. The Dutch officials therefore prepared to retire with their private property to Pulicat, among them being the Predicant and the members of the Consistory. These actually took with them the Church plate; with regard to the rest of the furniture, they made a proposal to Gericke which is embodied in the following letter[2] from him to the Madras Government through the British Resident.[3]

'In consequence of a report to me from the Dutch clergyman and Churchwardens I beg leave to address you on a subject that interests not only all the Protestant inhabitants of Negapatam, but in some degree the cause of our holy religion too. The above gentlemen are to leave this place and settle at Pullicat; they desire to make an offer to the English Government of the organ, pulpit, pews and seats and of their Church for such an equivalent as upon an impartial estimate shall be found reasonable; and I intreat your favour

[1] S.P.C.K. Reports, 1769 and 1770. [2] Consultations, 22 May 1787.
[3] Thomas Lewin Esquire, Resident at Nagore.

to recommend this proposal in the best manner to the benevolent attention of the Hon. Board of Fort St. George.

'I'll say nothing of the organ, but should be sorry to see the pulpit and other moveables taken out of the Church and carried to Pullicat for the chapel that is now re-building there. In this case one of the best chapels in India would be ruined; and not only the English gentlemen at Negapatam and Nagore would be deprived of a decent place for divine worship, but all the Protestant families, many widow ladies, and a considerable number of decent poor and orphans that are to remain here and who constantly attend the divine service performed in Portuguese at the Dutch Church, would grieve at the loss of it. The latter, 'tis to be feared, will after the departure of the clergyman and Churchwardens be destitute of their monthly allowance which they have been accustomed to receive from the Dutch Church; and if they should lose the use of the Church too, that would be to them so dejecting a circumstance that from it they would be in danger of falling an easy prey to their Roman Catholic friends and neighbours.

'But if the English Government can think it fit to admit of the above proposal, the said customary allowance to the poor from the Church may be made to continue together with the Chapel[1]; for the Dutch Government will in return, upon due representation, I make no doubt, consent to let the price of the purchase of the Negapatam Church furniture go towards a fund for the support of its poor and orphans; and will make the Chapel of Pullicat amends some other way; for it is unpracticable for the poor and orphans of Negapatam Church to follow the Dutch clergyman and Churchwardens to Pullicat.

'Seeing the Protestant inhabitants of Negapatam in fear for their Church, and the poor among them in danger of losing with it their support, I could not help taking an interest in their cause, and by your mediation to address the benevolence of Government on their behalf.'

The Governor and Council discussed the proposal and agreed 'that the Resident be directed to ascertain and report to Government what sum the Dutch clergyman and Churchwardens expect for the organ, pulpit, pews and seats of the Church at Negapatam; and in case they have authority to dispose of their produce without the permission of the Dutch

[1] Gericke generally uses the word Church for congregation, and the word Chapel for the building.

Government, whether they consent that it shall be appropriated to the Church Fund for the support of the poor and orphans of that place.'

The Madras Government made no claim to the building and its contents by right of conquest; they granted the sum demanded for the internal fittings, and left Gericke to take over the building and its furniture, and other ecclesiastical properties including two burial grounds, without further note, comment, or condition. Their help to Gericke was of the same nature as their help to Hutteman at Cuddalore, to Schwartz at Trichinopoly and Tanjore; the unexpressed condition being that if the Missionaries were assisted in the provision of Churches they would be expected to use them for the benefit of Europeans as well as for native converts, and to minister to all alike. The Government did not want the Churches; they were quite content that in the out-garrisons they should be owned by Missionaries or mission societies or by the people that made use of them; and that they should use them as they pleased so long as they were open to Europeans in their service.

Soon after the purchase of the internal fittings of the Church for the mission the Dutch minister returned to Europe, and the elders and the deacons went to Pulicat. Gericke was thus left in sole charge of the ecclesiastical affairs of the place. In 1788 he was called to Madras to take the place of the aged Fabricius as head of the Vepery mission. He arranged for the support of the poor as well as he was able out of mission funds; and for one of the Tranquebar Missionaries, Cœmmerer, to carry on the pastoral work. What he was able to do for the poor was not enough; for in 1794 Schwartz visited Negapatam and reported to the Fort St. George Government the poverty into which some of the Dutch and Dutch Eurasians had fallen; he obtained for them a grant of 40 pagodas a month to be administered by Gericke as head of the Vepery (S.P.C.K.'s) mission.[1] This allowance was continued until 1835.[2] Gericke was described by Schwartz to have been 'like a father to the distressed people.'

[1] S.P.C.K. Report, 1795, and Pearson's *Schwartz*, ii. 258.
[2] Despatches, 8 July 1835, 40, and 10 Aug. 1836, 42 (Public).

ST. PETER'S, NEGAPATAM.

After the capture of Colombo and other places in Ceylon in 1795, there were many Dutch prisoners at Negapatam; and amongst them was a Predicant named Grahan. His local ministrations were very highly esteemed; so that when he received orders to return to Colombo in 1799 the inhabitants petitioned the Government through Gericke, the Missionary in charge, to allow the minister to remain with them. The petition was granted. Grahan remained and conducted the pastoral work of the place under the general superintendence of Gericke till the death of the latter in 1803. Copies of the register books were submitted by him to the Senior Chaplain of Fort St. George through Gericke, as if to emphasise the fact that Gericke was in charge of the ecclesiastical affairs of the place.

In his will Gericke left a legacy to Domingo de Rozario, 'reader and schoolmaster at Negapatam, who has managed the charitable institution of that place ever since I left it in 1789.' And he left a sum of money 'to supply the wants of the charitable institution at Negapatam, which the allowance of 40 pagodas a month from the Hon. Company doth not supply,' and to keep 'the churches at Negapatam' in repair. He made a similar provision for Vepery. His intention was to maintain the mission at both places as they were at the time of his death.[1]

The S.P.C.K. report for 1805 laments the want of a Missionary at Negapatam. 'The large town of Negapatam, heretofore a favorite place with the late Mr. Gericke, having many Dutch, Portuguese and [Tamil] Christians in it, is destitute of a minister; a Portuguese man named Domingo de Rozario, stationed there by Mr. Gericke, teaches English in a school consisting of about 40 children; and on Sundays he reads the Common Prayer and a sermon in Portuguese.'

De Rozario died in 1807; the Tranquebar Missionaries at once sent a European catechist or reader to take his place; and occasional pastoral visits were paid from that place, from Madras and from Tanjore. At the end of 1808 the Dutch inhabitants petitioned the Government to give them a resident

[1] Taylor's *Memoir*, Appendix, p. xxx.

Chaplain on an allowance of 25 pagodas à month, and named the Rev. Mr. Voss, a Dutch minister, as one willing to undertake the charge. The petition was granted.[1] He resigned in Feb. 1810, nearly a year before the Despatch of the Directors sanctioning the appointment arrived. The catechist again took charge; he was authorized by the Tranquebar Missionaries to perform the offices of baptism, marriage and burial for the members of the native congregation, and for others who might desire his services. As the representative of the Vepery mission he distributed the Government allowance of 40 pagodas a month to the Dutch and Dutch Eurasian poor of the place. On the arrival of the Wesleyan Missionaries the Collector, Mr. John Cotton, thought that the distribution would be better in the hands of Englishmen, and transferred it from the Catechist's hands to theirs. This was objected to by the Madras District Committee of the S.P.C.K., of which Mr. Richard Clarke was the honorary secretary; and the distribution was replaced in the hands of the mission representative. When Mr. Kindersley became Collector, the distribution was again placed in the hands of the Wesleyan Englishman, and the Government supported the contention of the Collector that the grant had nothing to do with the S.P.C.K. mission, and that they could appoint whom they pleased to distribute it. The grant was distributed by the Wesleyans till it was abolished in 1836.

The advantage of nationality was on the side of the Wesleyans; the German agents of the S.P.C.K. were not able to hold their own against them. The Rev. A. F. Cœmmerer of Tranquebar had charge of the mission after the death of de Rozario. He reported in 1820 that the congregations were much in the same state as they had been for a considerable time past; that Mr. Younker, the resident catechist, read service in the Church; that the school was small; that the expenses were defrayed by Mr. Gericke's legacy and by a donation from the Madras Government; that a Missionary of the London Society[2] had for some time resided there, and the Government had allowed him a salary of 25 pagodas a

[1] Despatch, 10 July 1811, 140.
[2] This probably means the Wesleyan Society.

month for reading the English service.[1] This allowance for performing clerical duties for the Europeans was sanctioned later on by the Directors.[2] Cœmmerer of Tranquebar superintended the mission up to 1833. The District Committee of the S.P.C.K. instructed Haubroe to visit and report on it in 1821. He reported that the mission deserved the attention of the S.P.C.K.; that there would be an ample sphere of useful labour for a resident Missionary, who possessed discretion, zeal and learning, and a knowledge of the native language. But neither the S.P.C.K. up to 1826 nor the S.P.G. after that date, were able to find a worker for Negapatam until the year 1833. By this time it was 30 years since Gericke's death, and 30 years since it was a well understood fact that the ecclesiastical buildings and property were connected with the Vepery mission. The absence of any local representative more important than a catechist for so long a time was injurious to the work of the mission, and jeopardised its property.

For in 1820 a Wesleyan Missionary named Squance came over from Jaffna and settled at Negapatam. Dr. Cœmmerer reported his arrival to the District Committee; and as the right to the use of the Church was involved, the Secretary Mr. Richard Clarke wrote to the Civil Resident about it. In reply the Resident said that he understood that the Wesleyan Society differed very little from the Church of England; and that the Church belonged to no particular body, but was 'merely Protestant.' Mr. Clarke then wrote to Dr. Rottler to inquire as to the property, and at whose disposal it was; and Dr. Rottler referred him to Gericke's will. But the Civil Resident in the absence of a real clergyman preferred the ministrations of the Wesleyan Englishman to the German catechist, and gave him the use of the Church. For fifteen years the Wesleyans continued to use the building, and then were with difficulty ousted.[3]

When the catechist John Younker wrote his report to Dr.

[1] *Madras Christian Observer*, Jan. 1832.

[2] Despatch, 10 March 1824, 36.

[3] Taylor's *Memoir*, p. 219. Taylor is not an altogether reliable guide; but he was himself a few years later a Wesleyan minister, and probably knew these circumstances.

Cœmmerer in 1823 he made no mention of the use of the Church by the Wesleyans.[1] The distribution of the Government dole, obtained by Schwartz, was still with him; the Tamil Church was in need of repair, and he asked that the reverend Missionaries at Vepery might be informed and requested to do it. He spoke of his Dutch, Portuguese, and Tamil work; and begged for more Portuguese Books of Common Prayer. The month before Cœmmerer confirmed (according to Lutheran custom) 18 Portuguese and Dutch persons and 3 Tamils. There is no mention of an English congregation. It looks as if he had left the English services to the new comer, and was sharing the Church with him for the purpose. But the return of a baptism of a European child by him in 1825 to the Senior Presidency Chaplain shows that he had not altogether relinquished English work.

In the year 1832 [2] and again in the year 1835 [3] the Government repaired the wall of the old Dutch Burial ground; this contains many handsome monuments over the graves of the old Dutch officials. In 1836 the Collector of Tanjore was about to do some repairs to the Church itself. By this time there was a European Missionary in charge; he represented what was about to be done by the Collector to the Madras Diocesan Committee of the S.P.G., who objected, claiming the property. The Government in the face of all that had happened 50 years before declined to contest the right, and relinquished the privilege of repairing the building to the Society.[4]

The Eurasian Charity School, which had been established by the Dutch and taken over by Gericke, received a large Government grant until 1851. An annual report was made to the Government on its condition, and regularly transmitted to the Directors.[5] The Government had undoubtedly retained an interest in the ecclesiastical and educational affairs of the station; but there can be no doubt that they had parted with the buildings and the property at a time when they had no desire to possess such things.

[1] Taylor's *Memoir*, p. 255.
[2] Despatch, 2 Oct. 1832, Eccl. [3] Do. 18 March 1835, Eccl.
[4] Letter No. 10 of 1857, 21, and Despatch, 11 Aug. 1858.
[5] Despatches, 23 Dec. 1840, 17; 20 May 1846, 39; and 30 July 1851, 28, Ecclesiastical.

In 1853 the Society appealed to the Government for assistance to repair the building on the ground that the Society's agents ministered to Europeans as well as others within it. The Government offered to pay the cost of the repairs—800 rupees—if the building were unconditionally handed over to them. This the Society declined. In 1860 the Government paid one third of the cost of some petty repairs[1]; and in 1864 further repairs were paid for.[2] Soon after 1880 the ancient teak roof was found to have suffered so much from the ravages of time and decay, and the estimated cost of repairing it was so great, that the Society submitted to the terms of the Government and handed over the building to them in trust; it is now in their safe custody.

The first English Missionary of the S.P.G. stationed at Negapatam was Adam Compton Thompson, who was sent there in 1833 and remained till 1835. He was succeeded by Thomas Carter Simpson, one of the many useful and devoted priests educated at the Clergy Orphan School, Canterbury. He was succeeded by John Thompson, a brother of Adam, in 1837, who remained at Negapatam until 1842. In 1845 the Chaplain of Tranquebar was ordered to visit Negapatam periodically, and to take over the European work. The declared policy of the Company at this time was to separate themselves and their concerns from all connection with Missionary enterprise. In 1858 they requested the local Government to make arrangements to prevent their Chaplains from even making use of the mission Church in their ministrations.[3] The Madras Government were not favourable to this policy, and delayed the execution of it in this and other cases, on the ground that the joint occupation of a Church was convenient, and worked no kind of harm or injury to any one. The extinction of the old Company soon afterwards prevented any new arrangement being carried out. Since the Dutch period came to an end the Church had been in joint occupation of Europeans and natives, like several others in the south of India. At the present time it remains so.

It was at Negapatam that that incident occurred in

[1] G.O. 23 Nov. 1860, Eccl. [2] G.O. 20 April 1864, Eccl.
[3] Despatch, 11 Aug. 1858, 47, Eccl.

connection with the 72nd Regiment which seemed so wonderful and striking to Gericke that he gave an account of it in his annual report to the S.P.C.K. Hough reproduced the story in his history. During 1785 there were two companies of time expired men belonging to the 72nd without any commissioned officer, awaiting embarkation. They received Gericke's ministrations with gratitude; Sunday after Sunday they marched to Church; and they behaved themselves towards the inhabitants with a kindness and self-control which won their respect and admiration. All honour to the 72nd.

When the Church was taken over by Gericke the interior arrangement was that usual in Dutch places of worship; the Austinfriars Church in the City of London is a fair type of the arrangement. The pulpit and its sounding board occupied the centre of one side; underneath it was a railed space; against the opposite wall were the raised panelled seats for the Consistory—the elders and deacons and officials; below them was the official seat of the Governor. There can be hardly any doubt that this arrangement continued for the next 50 years, and until the arrival of an English clergyman. The necessity of having an altar-table in a fixed position, without making more change than was absolutely necessary to accomplish this, led to the conversion of the old platform for the Consistory and the Governor into a sacrarium. In this space an altar-table was placed, and it was surrounded by the rails which formerly enclosed the space round the pulpit. With these alterations the building was licensed by Bishop Spenser in 1844 for all ecclesiastical purposes.

The building measures inside 120 feet by 40 feet; it is built lengthways east and west. The pulpit is in the centre of the north side; it is entered from the Vestry below through a passage in the wall up a flight of steps. It is a noble structure of good workmanship, either made by the Dutch themselves or under their careful supervision. The sounding board has a diameter of 10 feet; it is supported on the north by a panelling of teakwood which rises to the necessary height from the back of the pulpit. Its two other supports are fluted teak columns which rise from the floor of the

Church. Along the south wall on each side of the altar are the old panelled and canopied seats, well carved, solid and substantial. The state chair, used by the Dutch Governors, is now in the sanctuary; it is broad enough to seat two ordinary persons. The musicians' gallery over the west door remains; but the organ—a hand organ with a cylinder, with a front of gilded pipes—has been removed from it to the east end. Round the walls of the Church are fixed the emblazoned escutcheons of such Dutchmen of social and official importance as died in Negapatam. Here and there are handsome monumental tablets. One is the carved representation of a young woman sailing on a large shell, and holding over her head a shawl to catch the wind. It is the memorial of the daughter of an early Governor, who was drowned on her passage out from home to join her parents.[1]

The plate is neither old nor worthy of special mention; but a handsome altar cross was presented by Captain Dallas, of the Madras Army, who was Lay Trustee in 1900.

Although these Churches existed in 1746, they were not then the property either of the Company or of any English mission body, nor were they used for English services. Negapatam was the first of the four used for English services, and that was in 1785. It became the property of the Government nearly 100 years later. Pulicat was used for English services in 1795; it became the property of the Government in 1845. Cochin was used for English services in 1818; it became the property of the Government in 1847. Tranquebar was ceded to the Company in 1845; if English services were held in it before that date, it was only for a short time during the military occupation of the Fort by the Company's troops.

[1] I am indebted to the Rev. B. M. Morton, B.A., Chaplain, for refreshing my memory as to these details, and for the photographs of Negapatam and Tranquebar Churches.

CHAPTER XIII

FORT ST. DAVID; CHRIST CHURCH, AND THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY EPIPHANY, CUDDALORE

On the Coromandel Coast about 115 miles south of Fort St. George is the mouth of the Goodalam River. Just inside the mouth its waters form a shallow lake. Two hundred years ago small flat-bottomed craft of about 50 tons burthen could both enter the river and move about the lake. This physical fact was a matter of great importance to small traders who had business with Ceylon and the coast ports. On the right bank of the river, inside the mouth, stands the native town of Cuddalore. On the left bank, at the very mouth itself, with the sea eastward and the lake to the south stands a ruined fort. Both the town and the fort have a history of much interest.

In the middle of the 17th century the town had a population of fishermen, weavers and cultivators, who acknowledged the Rajah of Gingee as their feudatory chief. The weavers had the reputation of being the very best on the Coromandel Coast; their cloths were not only in demand along the coast and inland, but they were esteemed also by the Dutch and English trading Companies, who competed for their possession.

An adventurous Tamil merchant named Chinnea Chetty established himself as the middle man between the Companies and the producers. He quickly acquired considerable wealth; and as his ships and his stores and his money increased he took the precaution to build himself a fort, and to protect his warehouses with entrenchments, ramparts and guns. This fort measured 400 feet by 500 feet; its walls were built of stone; its gateways and its guardrooms were likewise of masonry.

Within were his own house, his offices and warehouses, and tiled huts for his subordinates. Here he successfully traded till the invasion of the Mahrattas in 1673, when he put his accumulations of money and goods into his ship and sailed away to a safer place.

There were some Dutch merchants living in a Factory House at Cuddalore at this time; they knew of the fort; they knew of its desertion; and they entered into negotiations with the new Mahratta ruler of Gingee for its purchase. The French at Pondicherry, which is only 15 miles north of the fort, also knew of it; and they also are said to have offered to purchase it. A young English merchant named Elihu Yale was sent by the Fort St. George Council in 1674 to see what could be done to get Cuddalore cloths in the future, now that Chinnea Chetty had retired from business. He saw the deserted fort; but he took no particular notice of it. The Dutch were strongly opposed to his establishing a factory in the town. He reported therefore to his superiors what he had seen and done, with the result that the Dutch were left in quiet possession of the market.

In 1681 the English Company established a factory at Cuddalore; but the Dutch took means to prevent the venture being a profitable one; they are said to have bought up all the cloth for a higher price than it could be sold for again; so the Englishmen gave up their factory in 1685, and returned to Fort St. George. They then made an attempt to share in the trade of the district by opening a factory at Connimere, about 12 miles north of Pondicherry. The jealous opposition of the French made this attempt only partially successful. So they tried another centre at Porto Novo, a decayed settlement of the Portuguese about 12 miles south of Cuddalore; this attempt was defeated by the hostility of the natives and the Portuguese Eurasians.

Elihu Yale became Governor of Fort St. George in 1687; the important question of the time was whether the English merchants were to be excluded from Cuddalore trade or not. He remembered the deserted fort. And without the knowledge, or even the suspicion of Dutch, French, or Portuguese, he entered into negotiations with the Mahrattas for its purchase.

The agreement was signed, the price paid, and possession taken on the 15th July 1690. This was the second possession of the East India Company in the East.[1]

Governor Yale named the Fort in honour of St. David—partly perhaps because he himself was of Welsh descent, and partly perhaps in recollection of his son David, who died in childhood at Fort St. George in the early part of 1688. William Hatsell was appointed Chief with the title of Deputy Governor. With him went 13 merchants of various grades, a Surgeon, a Lieutenant, 2 Ensigns, a Gunner, 100 European soldiers, 20 matrosses and 20 gun lascars. In August 1692 they were joined by the first Fort St. David Chaplain, Jethro Brideoake.

Of course a good deal of building and repairing was necessary to render the fort habitable by Europeans; but this was soon done; and the garrison settled down to the same kind of regular life that they had led at Fort St. George. The merchants messed together in the Council chamber; attended the services in the room set apart as a Chapel, and transacted the business of the Company between whiles.

It was arranged with the Mahratta Chief at Gingee that the jurisdiction of the Company should extend as far as their guns would carry. Hatsell was sufficiently alive to the joint interests of the Company and the dwellers in the fort to send to Fort St. George for the longest range gun they had. With this they marked out their semi-circular boundary; in which were included several small native villages[2] and Cuddalore. All were handed over. The Dutch disputed the validity of the whole transaction; they wanted the fort themselves, but had lost it through haggling over the price of it. The English Company allowed them to keep their property, and to stay where they were, if they pleased. But they did not remain long. They retired to Negapatam and left the Englishmen in full possession.

There is some reason to suppose that a Roman Catholic mission was established at Cuddalore in 1606.[3] When the

[1] Bombay was the property of the Crown, and was leased by the Crown to the Company.

[2] Still known as the Cannon Ball Villages.

[3] See the *South Arcot Manual* by Nelson.

English Company commenced their rule a Portuguese priest, Paulo de Saa, obtained from the Fort St. David Council a grant of land in the town of Cuddalore, on which to build a Church, school and mission house. This was in 1692. The site of the Church was not that on which Christ Church of the present day stands. The building was partly destroyed by the French in 1758. In 1767 it was pulled down; and the materials were used in erecting a new Church on a site nearer the mission house of the S.P.C.K. Missionaries.

In a former chapter have been mentioned some of the incidents of its history. The English Theatine, John Milton, dispossessed the Portuguese clergy in 1707. He left the place in 1711 and the Portuguese were re-established in possession. Here they remained till, by the advice of Admiral Boscawen, the building was confiscated by the Fort St. David Government in 1749 and handed over to the representative of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

The British authorities and the Company's officials had been smarting with indignation, since the capture of Fort St. George and Madras in 1746, at the treachery and disloyalty of the Roman Catholics, to whom they had been both forbearing and generous. Admiral Boscawen had no doubt that the right course to pursue—politically—was to confiscate all Roman Catholic ecclesiastical property, banish all Roman Catholic ecclesiastics, and compensate the Protestant Missionaries for the destruction of their property in Madras by giving them the confiscated property. He used his great influence with the Fort St. David Council, and later on with the Court of Directors, to get this policy carried out; and he was successful.

The Council recorded this resolution[1] and letter on the subject:—

'The Romish priest that resided at Cuddalore, in consequence of the Resolution of Consultation of the 16th October, having departed our limits, an order to Mr. Kiernander to take possession of the Church there (which its agreed be called by the name of Christ Church) is directed to be drawn out and given him.'

[1] Fort St. David Consultations, Nov. 1749.

'*To Mr. John Zechariah Kirnander, British Missionary to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge*

'Sir,—The Romish Church at Cuddalore being vacant in consequence of our orders to the priest that exercised that religion there to depart the Honourable Company's limits, we have therefore thought proper to appoint the said place of public worship, hereafter to be called and known by the name of Christ's Church, for the use of the British Missionaries belonging to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, till the Honourable Company's pleasure shall be known herein, desiring you will assemble your congregation in the joint Church, and let them know it is appointed for the encrease of the Protestant Religion.

'Dated at Fort St. David this 25th day of November 1749; signed by order of the Honourable the President and Council.

'CHARLES BOURCHIER, *Secretary*.'

The transfer was not made without protest on the part of the Bishop of St. Thoma; but the protest did not avail. It was a rough and ready method of retributive justice; but the local authorities were convinced that it was justice.

After the return home of Mr. Jethro Brideoake in 1695, no Chaplain was stationed at Fort St. David until 1702 when Mr. John Landon was sent there from Masulipatam. He retired from the Company's service in 1705, and no immediate successor was appointed; but the Fort St. George Chaplain was ordered to pay occasional visits to Fort St. David. This was done by George Lewis, James Wendey, William Stevenson, Charles Long, and Thomas Wendey. Long was actually appointed a Chaplain for the purpose of ministering altogether at Fort St. David; but he was unwilling to take up his abode there; and was finally dismissed the Service for refusing to do so. Dean Smedley visited the station from Fort St. George in 1730 and died there. Robert Wynch visited in 1732. Eden Howard paid periodical visits between that date and 1745, when he returned home. At the end of 1746 Fort St. David had become the Presidency; and the Company's Chaplains were regularly stationed there until the rendition of Fort St. George.

This new condition of affairs gave an unlooked-for importance both to Fort St. David and to Cuddalore. For they became together the chief political, military, naval and trading centres of the Company on the Coromandel Coast. Instead of being a Deputy Governor the Chief of Fort St. David became a Governor, and his commission was made out to him as 'President of all our affairs on the Coast of Coromandel and Orixa and of the Ghingee and Moratta Countries, and of the coast of Sumatra; Commander in Chief at our Fort St. David at Devanapatnam, and all the territories thereunto belonging, and of all the forces' etc. The Directors, who had already [1] spent large sums of money over the repair of the Fort St. David fortifications, ordered them to be further fortified and secured.[2]

The Revd. Francis Fordyce arrived, as we have seen,[3] from Bencoolen in October 1746. He had apparently received his instructions to go to Fort St. George before the Governor and Council had received the Directors' Despatch about him, if they ever received it at all; and he at once took his departure for the Coast. He received a Palankeen allowance in Nov. 1746 to enable him to travel between the Fort and the town of Cuddalore, but he was regarded by the Council as on the Bencoolen establishment, and treated accordingly until March in the following year. They then put him on the Fort St. David establishment,[4] and informed the Directors of what they had done.[5] In April 1747 occurs this entry in the Consultation Book:—

'The Revd. Mr. Francis Fordyce being entertained on this establishment agreeable to our Honourable masters' directions, and having several months' allowances due to him from the West Coast,—he now delivers in a petition requesting to be paid the same, which is granted, and it is ordered that Account Current Fort Marlborough be debited for it.'

'The humble petition of Francis Fordyce sheweth, That your petitioner having left Bencoolen for Fort St. George in July last with the consent and permission of the Deputy Gover-

[1] Despatch, 7 Feb. 1744–5, 29, 30. Do. 7 May 1746, 37. Do. 14 Nov. 1746, 11-end.

[2] Despatch to Fort St. David, 24 July 1747.

[3] Chapter vii.

[4] Consultations, March 1746–7.

[5] Letter, 2 May 1747, 89.

nor and Council of Fort Marlborough, and that he hath not received any salary since the 25th June, nor any diet allowance since the aforesaid month of June till the 1st of March, when he was put on this establishment, humbly prays that your Honour &c Council may be pleased to pay him after the usual manner what is due to him. And your petitioner,' etc.

Fordyce was paid his claim, and worked for a year before being again mentioned in the Consultation Book. At the end of that period[1] he made an application to the Council. He represented that he had buried all that had died in the King's Hospital; that he had applied to Commodore Griffin for the surplice fees as paid to the Chaplain of Gibraltar for discharging that office to all belonging to H.M.'s Navy in that Port; but that he had refused to gratify his demand. He asked the Governor and Council to do so; and to order, 'if Mr. Griffin does not think proper to be at such expense,' that he appoint one of the Chaplains of the Squadron to attend their Hospital and bury their dead. He also asked for a further allowance for attending the Garrison Hospital at Cuddalore on account of the distance from the Fort.

The Board declined to interfere with the affairs of the Fleet; as to the latter request they reminded him that the Chaplains at Fort St. George never made any such claim; that he got the same pay and allowances as they did; and they thought that he ought to be contented, especially as the Company allowed him a Palankeen.

The number of deaths amongst the soldiers and sailors in Hospital during the previous year had been no less than 480. He had been assisted for a portion of the year by his colleague Mr. Richard Rider before his departure for Bencoolen; it was distinctly a time of unusual stress and labour for all in the settlement, civil and military as well as ecclesiastical. Fordyce asked for benefits and allowances not only in the wrong manner but also at the wrong time.

For another year he performed his duties at Fort St. David and Cuddalore; but his temper was so offensive, and his control over his tongue so small, that at the end of that time he was assaulted by a young officer of the garrison,

[1] Fort St. David Consultations, March 1747–8.

Robert Clive, whom he had grossly insulted. An enquiry was held by the Governor; and Francis Fordyce was suspended till the pleasure of the Directors could be known. The number of civil and military officers who bore witness against him at the enquiry is sufficient evidence of his ill-conditioned disposition. The fact was elicited that he had served the Company at St. Helena and at Bencoolen before his appointment to Fort St. David, and that at both places he was thoroughly disliked because of his quarrelsome disposition. When the Governor reported the proceedings to the Directors he referred to Fordyce as a 'meddling mischievous person.'[1]

The suspension took place in March 1748–9; the Council appointed Mr. Henry Cope to read Divine Service, with the allowance of half the pay of a Chaplain, and ordered that 'as the Revd. Mr. Kiernander resides at Cuddalore, he be ordered to officiate in burying the dead.' This arrangement lasted less than a month, as will be seen from the following extract from the Consultation Book dated March 1748–9:—

'The President acquaints the Board that as we are at present destitute of a Chaplain; and as he had information that the Revd. Mr. Robert Palk, the Admiral's Chaplain, a very worthy and able Divine, was willing to remain in India; he had therefore requested the favour of the Admiral to grant him that liberty. He therefore proposes to the Board that he may be appointed to this place; which is unanimously agreed to, as he bears a universal good character.

'Ordered therefore that he receive the same allowances as were enjoyed by his predecessor, Mr. Fordyce, and that they commence from the 1st. of next month.'

Almost at the same time that this appointment was made at Fort St. David, the Directors made an appointment of a Chaplain to assist Fordyce. They wrote[2]:—

'We have entertained the Revd. Mr. George Swinfen M.A. as one of our Chaplains at Fort St. David at the usual salary gratuity and other allowances. . . . He takes his passage on this ship.'

[1] The pith of the enquiry has been extracted from the Fort St. David Consultation Book, and printed in the *Memoir of Captain Dalton* (W. H. Allen & Co. 1886).

[2] Despatch, 29 March 1749, para. 20.

George Swynfen arrived on the 8th Sept. 1749, and began to draw pay from that date.[1] Robert Palk also continued to perform the office and draw the pay of a Chaplain. It was at this time that Fort St. George was handed back to the East India Company by the French, and a new Deputy-Governor and Council appointed.

Admiral Boscawen sailed with the fleet for Fort St. George for the purpose of receiving back the Fort in person. Palk accompanied him; and whilst at Madras he officiated as Chaplain till the arrival of Swynfen in December. The fleet then returned to Fort St. David.

A month later the Directors wrote[2]:—

'We approve of your suspending our late Chaplain, Mr. Fordyce, as we are fully convinced of his troublesome and unbecoming behaviour.

'We confirm your choice of the Rev. Mr. Robert Palk to be one of our Chaplains, and we hope he will merit this favour by a uniform good behaviour; but we direct that the Rev. Mr. Swinfen, a gentleman of our own appointing, have the precedency.'

Swynfen was present at two Vestry meetings at St. Mary's in 1750, and died on the 18th November of that year. In October the fleet went to Bombay homeward bound; and Palk went with it to the great regret of the settlement.[3] In the following March Admiral Boscawen arrived at Bombay, and Palk heard of Swynfen's death by letter from Fort St. David. He immediately obtained leave to return. On his arrival he wrote to the Governor[4] stating that when he left Fort St. David in the previous October he intended to apply to the Hon. Court of Directors to return as soon as he could disengage himself from His Majesty's Service; but on arrival at Bombay he heard of Mr. Swynfen's death, obtained leave from the Commander in Chief of H.M.'s Squadron, and arrived at Fort St. David in hopes of being reinstated Chaplain to that settlement. The Council considered his letter and agreed as follows:—

[1] Table of Salaries and Accounts in the Consultation Book.
[2] Despatch, 23 Jan. 1749–50, 65, 66. [3] Letter, 24 Oct. 1750, 67.
[4] His letter was dated 16 May 1751. Fort St. David Consultation Book.

'As we make no doubt from the recommendation the Honourable Company will have had of Mr. Palk, they will readily confirm him as one of their Chaplains on this coast, and having none here at present, Agreed that his request be complied with.' [1]

There had been no Chaplain on the Coast for 6 months; but by this time the Coast officials had learned how to make use of the Danish Missionaries. Fabricius at Fort St. George and Kiernander at Fort St. David were masters of the English language; they willingly gave their services whenever they were required. The system of employing the Missionaries for English work commenced at Fort St. George in 1730 when Consett died. Two civilians were appointed with a salary to do all that they could in and out of the Church; but Schultz, the versatile linguist and scholar, occasionally officiated at St. Mary's.

The Fort St. David Council reported their proceedings to the Directors,[2] and mentioned that Mr. Palk returned thanks for the favour done him. It is very evident from what happened subsequently that the Governor and Council were anxious to retain the services of Mr. Robert Palk. His strong personality had impressed them. The Directors were not unwilling to gratify their servants on the Coast; but the great time that elapsed between the writing of a letter home and getting a reply to it, obliged the Council to make local arrangements and report them afterwards, whilst the Directors were making other arrangements and sending out orders for them to be carried out. The Directors heard of the death of Swynfen and the departure of Palk in the middle of 1751. In the following December they appointed Mr. Samuel Staveley and Mr. Thomas Colefax to be Chaplains on the Coast.[3] But in the mean time Palk had returned to Fort St. David, had been re-entertained as a Chaplain, and had been despatched to Fort St. George to officiate as Chaplain there.[4]

The two new Chaplains arrived in June 1752. The Council wrote in July [5] :—

[1] See also Letter, 7 Feb. 1750–1, paras. 39, 40.
[2] Letter, 6 Aug. 1751, para. 54.
[3] Despatch, 6 Dec. 1751, para. 24
[4] July 1751. Vestry Minute Book.
[5] Letter, 5 July 1752, para. 72.

'Mr. Palk, hearing of Mr. Swynfen's death, and his election to be Chaplain, returned from Bombay and has officiated to general satisfaction; he and Mr. Colefax are appointed to the duty here, and Mr. Staveley at Fort St. David.'

By this time the Coast Government had returned to Fort St. George, and resolved that Palk should remain with them. To this letter the Directors replied[1]:—

'As you advised us that the Revd. Mr. Palk embarked on the Vigilant for Europe, we appointed the Revd. Mr. S. Staveley and Mr. Thomas Colefax to be our Chaplains on the Coromandel Coast, not imagining that Mr. Palk would return again; we therefore confirm our appointment of those two gentlemen, notwithstanding your re-admission of Mr. Palk. However as we had a satisfactory account of his behaviour, we appointed him one of our Chaplains at Bombay, and directed the President and Council last year to give him notice to make the best of his way thither accordingly, and at the same time to acquaint him that if at the time of receiving such notice there should happen to be a vacancy at your Presidency by the death or otherwise of Mr. Staveley or Mr. Colefax, or at Bengal by the death or otherwise of Mr. Bellamy or Mr. Mapletoft, in either of these cases he was to have the option of succeeding to such vacancy. If Mr. Palk happens to be with you acquaint him with the above, that any misunderstanding that may have arisen from our appointments aforesaid, and your re-choice of him, may be set right; our meaning being that in case of such succession Mr. Palk is to be the Junior Chaplain.'

Before this letter was written, *i.e.* in September 1752, Mr. Colefax died; the Council appointed Mr. Palk to take his place,[2] and recalled Staveley from Fort St. David. Other arrangements were made for the continuation of Divine Service there. So the official connection of Chaplains with Fort St. David came to an end in 1752, and was not resumed till 1807.

The further history of Robert Palk belongs to a future chapter.

As for Fort St. David the English services were conducted by one of the Company's servants, who received an allowance for the work and was called the Reader of Divine Service.

[1] Despatch, 15 Dec. 1752, para. 65. [2] Letter, 21 Feb. 1752–3, para. 29.

He had charge of the Registers and the Church funds; he was responsible for the daily services, and for all burials. Marriages were performed by the Chief Justice, that is, the chief magistrate. Baptisms and burials were performed sometimes by the Reader and sometimes by the S.P.C.K. Missionaries. After 1752 the copies of the register books sent to Fort St. George for transmission to the Directors were signed by the Reader. From 1713[1] to 1746 they were signed by the Church clerks; and from 1746 to 1752 they were signed by the Chaplains.

Before 1749 there were two burial grounds for Europeans, one near the Fort and north west of it, and the other near the town and north of it.[2] The latter is the older of the two. It was used by the Dutch and English when they possessed small factories in the town side by side, before the Fort was purchased. The oldest dated monument is of the year 1684; it is to the memory of the wife and child of Mr. John Davis, 'Chief of Coodalore'; it is handsomely graven with a coat of arms (a chevron between three swans passant), a helmet and a crest. The former was in use at a very early period, but not before the Company's occupation of the Fort. It contains 71 monuments; but only three of these have decipherable inscriptions; the oldest commemorates James Hugonin, the Swiss officer in the service of the Company who was Gunner at Fort St. George and afterwards of Fort St. David. It is dated 1718. The other two commemorate the wife of Captain Augustus De Morgan (1720), and Captain John Chisholm of Colonel Draper's Regiment (1761).

This cemetery was only in use for a short time after the destruction of the Fort in 1758. In 1730 Dean Smedley, the Chaplain, died. In 1746 Admiral Barnet died. In 1748 a naval Chaplain of H.M.S. Vigilant, the Rev. George Peacock M.A., Vicar of Littleport, Isle of Ely, died. Their remains were buried in one or the other of these cemeteries; it is not known which.

The political troubles with the ruler of Mysore from 1760 to the end of the century seem to have made it necessary for

[1] The date of the Company's order for their transmission home.
[2] Now called the Sonaga Street Cemetery.

the Europeans in the town to have a burial place within the walls. At first a piece of ground near the Church in Sloper Street was used; but within a short time the compound of the mission Church was made use of, and continued to be so used for privileged persons until 1875. When the political dangers were over on the fall of Seringapatam, the ancient burial ground in Sonaga Street was again brought into general use. In 1820 a new site was secured and enclosed [1]; this is the ground which is at present in use. Among the names of those commemorated in the various grounds, who did their part in making British history in the south of India, are the honoured names of Maxwell of Monreath, Munro, Sterling, Cullen, Kensington, Dent, Bryce, Dance, Leggatt, Rowley, Keble, Haslewood, Fallofield, Fraser, Parry, Hallyburton, Floyer, Harington, Boileau, Whitlock and others.

The Danish S.P.C.K. Missionaries succeeded by means of tact and obedience in ingratiating themselves with the English authorities. Governor Hubbard welcomed them in 1735; Governor Hinde in 1743, and Governor Saunders in 1749. In 1753, after the return of the Government to Fort St. George, Saunders wrote to the S.P.C.K. in London expressing his sympathy and regard. By that time he had four years' experience of their work, their character, their temper, and their method; and was able to express his approval. It was he who in 1739 sent the Company's slaves [2] to Kiernander for Christian instruction.

In 1742 Giester and Kiernander established charity schools for Eurasians and natives both in the town and near the Fort. With the permission of the Deputy Governor and Council they built a school chapel between the Garden House and the Fort, close to the Fort burial ground. When Count Lally came with a large force in 1758 and overpowered the Cuddalore and Fort St. David garrisons, many native Christians fled to the school chapel for sanctuary; among them were many Roman Catholics. These refugees were inhumanly massacred, and the building destroyed; but whether the

[1] Letter, 15 Dec. 1826, 7, Eccl.

[2] The Company's slaves were Madagascar Caffres, who were imported to serve as workmen on the fortifications of the Company's Forts and as soldiers.

perpetrators were Europeans or the native allies of the French does not appear to be absolutely known.[1] In the report which Kiernander sent home to the S.P.C.K., he spoke of the kindness and consideration of Count Lally himself, and of his chief officers Colonel Kennedy and the Baron Heidemann, towards himself and the Christian people of the mission, after his interview with them. The Missionaries and many converts escaped to Tranquebar with Lally's knowledge and consent, but to the great disappointment and displeasure of the Roman Catholic authorities at Pondicherry. These could not forget that their Church had been confiscated and given to their rivals.

The general destruction by the French was very great. They partly destroyed the old Church at Cuddalore and wholly destroyed the school chapel; they blew up the Fort itself; they destroyed all the civil and ecclesiastical records; so that when they were driven out two years later by a British force under Eyre Coote, the Missionaries re-commenced their labours without Church, school, or mission house; they practically had to commence their work afresh.

Kiernander did not return to Cuddalore after its recovery. In 1758 he went to Calcutta, most likely attracted by his old Fort St. David friends, now in authority in Bengal, and remained there the rest of his life. When Hutteman, his colleague since 1750, returned he found a large military and naval force in possession without any Chaplain. He was at once appointed Chaplain to the garrison by the officer in command, and was given rations and quarters. At the same time he was made a naval Chaplain by the Admiral of the Fleet, who appointed him to H.M.S. Medway, to enable him to draw the pay of his appointment. Hutteman stipulated that he should not have any duty on board; but that his duties should be confined to ministering to the sailors in the Naval Hospital in the town. By special request he conducted one service of thanksgiving on board a ship which had recently weathered a great storm. With this exception his duties were all ashore.

[1] *Calcutta Review*, 1847, vol. vii. p. 132. Note by Garstin; and Pearson's *Life of Schwartz*, vol. i. p. 122.

The Fort St. George Government was asked in 1760 by the officer commanding the land forces to make Hutteman some allowance as Chaplain. This, however, they could not do without the sanction of the Directors. But they did what they could. They gave him a portion of the recovered territory—a piece of land which brought in about 100 pagodas a year. It has been known ever since as the Padre-kottagam—the Padre's close or village—and Hutteman at once made it over to the S.P.C.K. mission.[1]

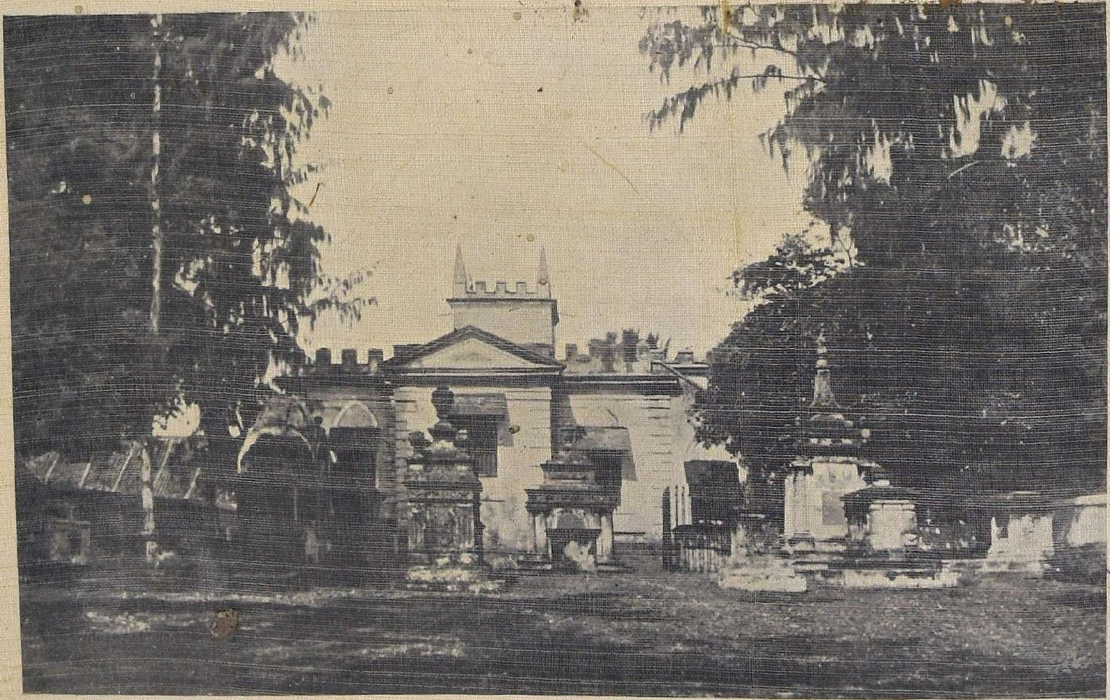
In 1766 Hutteman was joined by Gericke; at this time the bulk of their work was among the Europeans and Eurasians; the partly destroyed Church was not of much use to them; it was too small; it was without furniture and fittings; it was unsafe. George Hutteman therefore wrote a letter to the Governor of Fort St. George,[2] representing that the Church at Cuddalore was in a most ruinous condition—walls cracked, timber rotten, no proper seats for soldiers; the situation the worst in the town, among the Pariars; the way leading to it full of nastiness; and asking that orders might be given to pull down the old Church, in order to rebuild it near the Mission House on a commodious spot belonging to it, and that proper seats might be provided. He also stated that the estimated cost was 300 pagodas—about £120—and continued thus:—

'Should the President think proper to consent to this humble request, which we have all reasons to hope from their noble and generous sentiments, such an act will undoubtedly entail Jehovah's blessing on their administration. . . . . It will at the same time furnish a convenient place for an evening lecture, whereby many of our soldiers have been reclaimed from the pernicious ways of Drunkenness and Debauchery.'

The Governor and Council 'agreed to write to the gentlemen at Cuddalore that we will be willing to contribute 300 pagodas towards building a Church at Cuddalore provided the materials of the present Church will with the addition of that sum be sufficient.'

This resolution meant that they would not give any more.

[1] It passed with other properties from the S.P.C.K. to the S.P.G. in 1826.
[2] Madras Consultations, 24 March 1767.



CHRIST CHURCH, OLD TOWN, CUDDALORE.
From the Churchyard, looking west.

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There can be no doubt that the cost was under-estimated; for the new building was larger than the old one; the measurement of the area was 87 feet by 42 feet; and there was in addition a short tower and a spire. The rest of the necessary expenditure must have been raised locally among the officers and men of the garrison—partly as a return for the religious, moral, and educational work the Missionaries had done among the European and Eurasian soldiers—and partly on the ground that the buildings would be for the joint use of Europeans and natives.

The building was dedicated with due solemnity in September 1767, and was named Zion after the Danish Church in Tranquebar.[1] It is a curious fact that the new name was never popular with the English residents, and that by degrees the name given to the old Church in 1749 took its place. In this good work of rebuilding and of ministering among the soldiers and sailors Hutteman was greatly assisted by the Church Clerk, a pious soldier named John Kerr, who not only gave assistance generally, but when money was needed lent the Missionaries all his savings.

In 1772 Hutteman and Gericke revived the English School, and carried it on side by side with the Portuguese and Tamil schools which they had already re-opened. Two old soldiers acted as schoolmasters and taught 30 European and British Eurasian children.

In 1781 George Hutteman died and was buried at Cuddalore. For 25 years he had worked among all classes and had enjoyed their confidence and respect. The pay he received from the S.P.C.K. was only £50 a year, and from the Padrekottagam £40 a year; yet, like most of the other German Missionaries of that century, he managed to amass a good fortune. His will was proved in the Mayor's Court at Madras in 1781; from which it appears that he left 18000 pagodas in Company's bonds besides houses, furniture, carriages, and plate.[2]

[1] S.P.C.K. Reports, 1766–8, and Hough's *Christianity in India*, iii. 494.

[2] He had 4 daughters and 5 sons. One daughter, Elizabeth, was married to Jacob Pieterz, a Dutch official at Negapatam; another, Sophia, was married to C. W. Gericke, the S.P.C.K. Missionary; another, Christina, was married to Captain Augustus de Morgan, and became the grandmother of the great mathematician.

He left small legacies to the schoolmasters who helped him in the mission, Sergeant George and Sergeant Connor, and to the Church Clerk who succeeded Kerr. He continued :—

'If the Honourable Society[1] will approve of combining the Cuddalore and Vepery Mission, for split ropes have no strength, and will order all the houses here, gardens, and Devicottah acre, to be formed into one aggregate sum for the maintenance of a college to read publicly four hours a week on Divinity and Moral Philosophy, I bequeath to such an institution 500 pagodas. If not approved the sum returns to my estate.'

The son in law Gericke was the executor and guardian of the younger children.

Soon after his death the Mysoreans under Hyder Ali and their French allies came down in force upon Cuddalore and took possession of it. Gericke did good service at this time to the British. He interviewed the commanding officer of the Swiss regiment of de Meuron, and those of the French regiments, and appealed to them as Christian officers and gentlemen to prevent the destruction of British life and property on which their allies were bent. He was to some extent successful.[2] He was allowed to shelter and tend several wounded British officers. His good service was acknowledged by the Fort St. George Government, and by Lord Macartney the Governor; but it called forth no special reward or return on the part of the Government or of the military authorities.

The French did not destroy the Church this time; they made use of it as a powder magazine. The preservation of life and property was due entirely to their presence and to that of the de Meuron regiment; the regiment was composed of German-speaking Swiss, who were easily influenced by Gericke's appeal to them. The allies did not remain long in possession; and when they were driven out in 1782, Cuddalore bid a long farewell to foreign rule. It has been free from hostilities from that day to this.

In 1781 Gericke left Cuddalore for Negapatam, and there he remained, though still in charge of Cuddalore, till he went

[1] The S.P.C.K.

[2] *Memoir of Schwartz* by Dean Pearson, vol. ii. 277. Letter to the S.P.C.K. printed in the 1795 Report, p. 117.

THE TOWER OF CHRIST CHURCH, OLD TOWN, CUDDALORE.
(The building in the foreground is an S.P.G. Mission School.)

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to Madras in 1789 to take charge of the Vepery mission. In that year he sent to the S.P.C.K. in London a list of S.P.C.K. property in the various mission stations; from this it appears that at Cuddalore there was

1. A Church, School buildings, and a Mission House.
2. Grounds and Arable lands (the Pādrekottagam).
3. Plate, books, and money.

In 1792 Christopher Horst was appointed Catechist or Lector at Cuddalore under Gericke at Vepery. He received 10 pagodas a month, half being paid by Gericke out of mission funds and half by the Fort St. George Government. He was a surgeon who had studied at Gottingen; he arrived on the Coast with one of the Hanoverian regiments in 1787. As Lector his duty was to all classes, Europeans, Eurasians and natives, like that of his predecessors [1]; and he faithfully discharged it till 1801 when he went to Tranquebar.

During the period of Gericke's superintendence of the Vepery mission the Church at Cuddalore was repaired. In 1795 it was done partly out of mission funds in the hands of Gericke and partly by means of money raised locally among the civil and military residents. The mission funds were not solely at Gericke's disposal; the S.P.C.K. Missionaries together formed a board of management, and the senior of them was the agent of the rest. So we read in the report of 1796 the following extract of a letter from Gericke to the S.P.C.K. Committee [2]:—

'A balance remaining in favour of the Cuddalore mission, the missionaries had appropriated towards the repair of Cuddalore Church, it having been found necessary to pull down the wall on one side of the foundation and to take down the roof. The work was then more than half finished; and some pecuniary assistance had been promised to Mr. Gericke by several friends.'

The S.P.C.K. reports show that Gericke received various sums of money from Europe between 1795 and 1801 for the general expenses of the whole mission besides the sums sent out for salaries. In 1797 he received the amount of Pasche's

[1] S.P.C.K. Report, 1792. [2] Do. 1796, p. 126; letter dated 22 April 1795.

legacy and also of Ziegenhagen's legacy [1]; the latter—£1000—being to the three missions of Madras, Cuddalore and Tranquebar in equal parts.[2] The sums thus received enabled him to carry out the partial rebuilding and repair of the Cuddalore Church. In the 1801 report it is stated that Gericke rebuilt the Church by means of the salary he received from the Government and his allowance as Chaplain of the Naval Hospital. It is difficult to reconcile this statement with others in the reports. The probability is that, in imitation of his master Schwartz, he paid his official salary and allowances into the mission fund, and regarded the whole sum as mission property at his own disposal; and that when he assisted the repair of the Church out of the mission fund, he represented it as paid from his salary, which was in a sense true.

In 1803 Immanuel Holtzberg, a graduate of Leipsig, was sent to Cuddalore from Tanjore. At his university he had imbibed the neologlcal views on the inspiration of Holy Scripture, and was looked upon by his brethren as a hindrance rather than a help in mission work. In 1806 he was made Chaplain of the de Meuron regiment [3]; the regiment was disbanded in 1808; there is no evidence that he ever joined it.

In 1807 the S.P.C.K. sent out £50 for the repair of the mission buildings; Holtzberg preferred to leave the expenditure of the money to others; the repairs were therefore carried out 'under the advice and inspection of two respectable gentlemen.' [4] In the same year the Company made Cuddalore the head quarters of the young military cadets, and sent a Chaplain, Marmaduke Thompson,[5] to minister to them. At the same time they appointed Holtzberg to do duty at the Cantonment near the old Fort, now called New Town, at 30 pagodas a month. Unfortunately nothing was said about borrowing Christ Church or hiring it. By this order of Government the S.P.C.K. Missionary was separated from the S.P.C.K. Church, and another clergyman ordered to officiate in it. The

[1] S.P.C.K. Report, 1798.
[2] See also Taylor's *Memoir*, 82, 84, 85, 87.
[3] Letter, 12 Feb. 1806, 239–241, Mil.
[4] S.P.C.K. Report, 1808.
[5] He was one of the 'Evangelical Five,' nominated by Simeon and Charles Grant; the others were Bengal Chaplains—Brown, Corrie, Parson and Martyn.

intention of the Government was to build a chapel for the cadets [1]; and to use Christ Church till it was ready. The Missionaries had always shown a ready obedience to the orders of Government, and did so in this case; but they asserted their right of ownership. Estimates for the new building were prepared; Thompson suggested an expenditure of 500 or 600 pagodas; the military engineer prepared plans for a more substantial building at a cost of 3492 pagodas. The Directors reviewed these [2] and urged the Madras Government to build a chapel in a cheap and plain style. However, before this despatch was even written the Madras Government found it necessary to remove the cadets from Cuddalore; the Chaplain was removed at the same time, and the difficulty came to an end. Holtzberg's allowance was then reduced to 20 pagodas a month; and this allowance was sanctioned [3] by the Directors 'there being no Chaplain at present stationed at Cuddalore.'

In 1813 Holtzberg was reported to the S.P.C.K. in London to be a bad man. The Society thereupon wrote to the Directors to inform them that he had been dismissed their service. The Directors wrote to Madras that he was not to be employed any longer at Cuddalore; and added that if he were an improper person he was to be sent home.[4] This evil report must have been due to malevolence; for as soon as the Directors' Despatch arrived at Fort St. George the Governor called upon the Collector of Cuddalore to report on Holtzberg's character and conduct. The report was in his favour; so that he was allowed to continue his work at Cuddalore and to receive his stipend for his English work. A strange position was thus created. A dismissed S.P.C.K. Missionary continued to use with the approval of the Government an S.P.C.K. Church. There was no local authority to prevent him doing so until 1815, when the Madras District Committee commenced its work under the authority of the Bishop of Calcutta. The most valuable work of this and other similar committees during the 19th century was the preservation of mission property, and (until the creation of the Madras Bishopric) the exaction of obedience on the part of all

[1] Letter, 24 Dec. 1807, 234, Mil.
[2] Despatch, 23 Jan. 1811, 142, Mil.
[3] Do. 3 June 1814, 257, Pub.
[4] Do. 27 July 1814, 2, Pub.

agents to the orders and policy of the Societies in England. The District Committee afterwards exonerated Holtzberg; so that he was only for a short time in an anomalous and strange position. In 1817 the Government suspended him for celebrating a marriage without license from themselves; but after an explanation and expression of regret he was restored to his appointment; and his allowance was increased to 25 pagodas monthly.

On his suspension a Chaplain, Charles Church, was appointed to Cuddalore. It is not recorded in his life[1] what passed between the two men. Holtzberg kept possession of the Church; and in doing so must have had the approval of the District Committee.[2] Probably he also performed his mission duties. Charles Church was hospitably received by one of the military officers; he reported to the Government that there was no Church or chapel belonging to the Company; that the Magistrate in New Town gave up his office as a place of worship on Sundays where about 20 Europeans assembled; that he took a house in Old Town, fitted it up as a school chapel, and ministered to about 50 pensioners and their families; and that he opened in Cuddalore town two schools for heathen boys and gathered together about 150 children. When Holtzberg's explanation was accepted, which was probably due to the members of the District Committee, Charles Church was moved to another station, and Holtzberg resumed all his various duties. He died in 1824; the Government of Fort St. George recognised his faithful service by granting his widow a pension of 35 rupees; this the Directors sanctioned.[3]

The difficulty which stood between the Chaplain and the Missionary was that of ownership both in 1807 and in 1817. No one thought of compromising the matter by paying the mission for the use of the building. It was left to Bishop Heber to suggest this solution of the difficulty in 1826;

[1] *Memoir of an Indian Chaplain* by James Hough. Edited by J. M. Strachan (a Madras Civilian.—F. P.).
[2] Church by request reported to the Committee on the state and property of the Mission (S.P.G. Report, 1829).
[3] Letter, 9 Sept. 1825, 37, Eccl. Despatch, 29 Nov. 1826, 21, Eccl.

when the Directors cordially approved of compliance with his suggestion. Since then the Government has paid to the mission 35 rupees a month for the use of the building by the Europeans stationed at Cuddalore, and has from time to time assisted to keep the building in repair.[1]

David Rosen, a Dane and a graduate of Copenhagen, was appointed to superintend the mission work at Cuddalore in 1824[2]; and Henry Allen, a Chaplain, was at the same time appointed for the English work. Both used the Church by arrangement; it was during their joint use of it that the settlement of the monthly allowance was arrived at. Allen died in 1828 and was succeeded at once by the Rev. John Hallewell, another Chaplain. Rosen left in 1829 and had no successor until 1834. His leaving was due to the opinion of the S.P.G General Committee in Madras that his services were more urgently required in Tinnevelly.

'The General Committee having examined the returns of the Cuddalore mission, consisting of 160 souls, are of opinion that the greater part of those persons, from their connection with Europeans, might easily be included under the ministry of the Chaplain of the station ;—that a native priest or even a good catechist under the direction of the same minister might be sufficient for the instruction of the remainder of the native Christians '[3] etc.

During these five years Hallewell superintended the mission so far as he could; he kept the property together and apportioned the work of the Catechists and schoolmasters. In 1834 he was relieved of this work by the appointment of the Rev. Edward Jarrett Jones, who came to India with Bishop Wilson; he studied at Bishop's College Calcutta, and was a proficient in Tamil. With great devotion and care Jones ministered at Cuddalore until 1842 when he died. He was succeeded by the Rev. John Guest, who was fortunate in being the contemporary of a Chaplain, Joseph Knox, who was gifted with a devout missionary spirit. Guest was transferred

[1] Despatch, 5 Sept. 1827, 10, Eccl. Do. 20 Feb. 1833, 13, Eccl.
[2] See S.P.G. Report, 1829, on the state of the mission in 1824.
[3] Caldwell's *History of the Tinnevelly Mission*.

in 1845. He had no European successor till the appointment of the Rev. F. J. Leeper in 1876.

During these 21 years the mission was in charge of native clergymen, one of whom (Martyn) worked at Cuddalore for 10 years from 1865 to 1875. According to what was considered necessary at the time these looked to the Chaplains for guidance in cases of difficulty; and the Chaplains assisted them to collect money for mission purposes from the Europeans in the station. The Chaplains also supervised the mission accounts, and corresponded with the Diocesan Committee on questions of finance and property.

The Rev. F. J. Leeper was for two years in charge of both the European and the missionary work. He retired in 1881, and had no European successor till 1891 when the Rev. J. A. Sharrock was appointed to do both kinds of work.

The inability of the native clergy to prosecute missionary work, or even to keep from inanition that which had been commenced, was one of the greatest of disappointments to the missionary minded up to about 1890. Since then several have proved themselves able and zealous; and they have been given the authority and responsibility which are their due.

In 1846 the Minister of one of the other mission Churches in the Diocese which were used jointly by Europeans and natives,[1] applied to the Government for the payment of rent and assistance towards repair, and quoted Cuddalore as a precedent. The Council asked for orders; the Directors sanctioned the payment, but called for a report as to the number of Churches thus used and the reason of the arrangement.[2] The report was sent, stating that Palamcottah and Cuddalore were the only two Churches then in joint occupation. The Directors were at this time anxious to break off the connection of the Government with any mission enterprise; and thinking that, as there were only two Churches jointly used, this could be easily done at small expense, orders were sent out to take means to sever the connection as early as possible by erecting separate buildings for the use of Europeans.[3] The Cuddalore Europeans were quite satisfied

[1] Palamcottah.
[2] Despatch, 18 March 1846, 1, Eccl.
[3] Despatches, 20 Oct. 1847, 32, and 19 July 1848, 2, Eccl.

with the existing arrangement. They had furnished the Church with things necessary to their comfort; and adorned it at their own expense with ornaments suggested by their religious instinct; the walls and the floor were covered with memorials of their predecessors and the Churchyard was full of their dead. They did not want a new Church. They could not enter into 'the Court's desire that Government should be entirely disconnected from Missionary Churches.'[1] And so they delayed the matter by failing to fix upon a site. The Directors thereupon ordered the Collector to find a site.[2] After searching about for four years a site was found[3]; and the Directors expressed their satisfaction in their Despatch of the 11th Aug. 1858, para. 44, commencing 'we are glad' etc. But as the rule of the Honourable Company shortly afterwards came to an end, and there was really no need to build another Church, nothing further was heard of the matter.

Across the river Goodalam which separates the cantonment of Fort St. David—now called New Town—from Cuddalore, now called Old Town—bridges have been built from time to time with full confidence in their stability; but when the rains have been exceptionally heavy, and the floods exceptionally high, and the torrent of escaping water exceptionally rapid and strong, the bridges have been swept away. One of these catastrophes occurred in 1885. Like the former ones it separated the Europeans from their Church, so that they could only get to it by boat. In the cantonment there was a small School Chapel belonging to the S.P.G., in which services were held principally for the native Christians of the cantonment. It was not intended for Europeans; and was consequently built without attention being paid to ventilation and the circulation of fresh air. In 1886 the Bishop of Madras condemned it as unworthy of the purpose for which it was used. It was quite impossible for the Europeans to use this building; it was therefore determined in 1888 to build a new Church at a cost of about 5000 rupees, and to vest it in trustees for the joint use of the European and native congregations. The committee chosen for carrying this out

[1] Letter, 13 Feb. 1851, para. 6, Eccl.
[2] Despatch, 2 March 1853, para. 5, Eccl. [3] Letter, 15 Dec. 1857, Eccl.

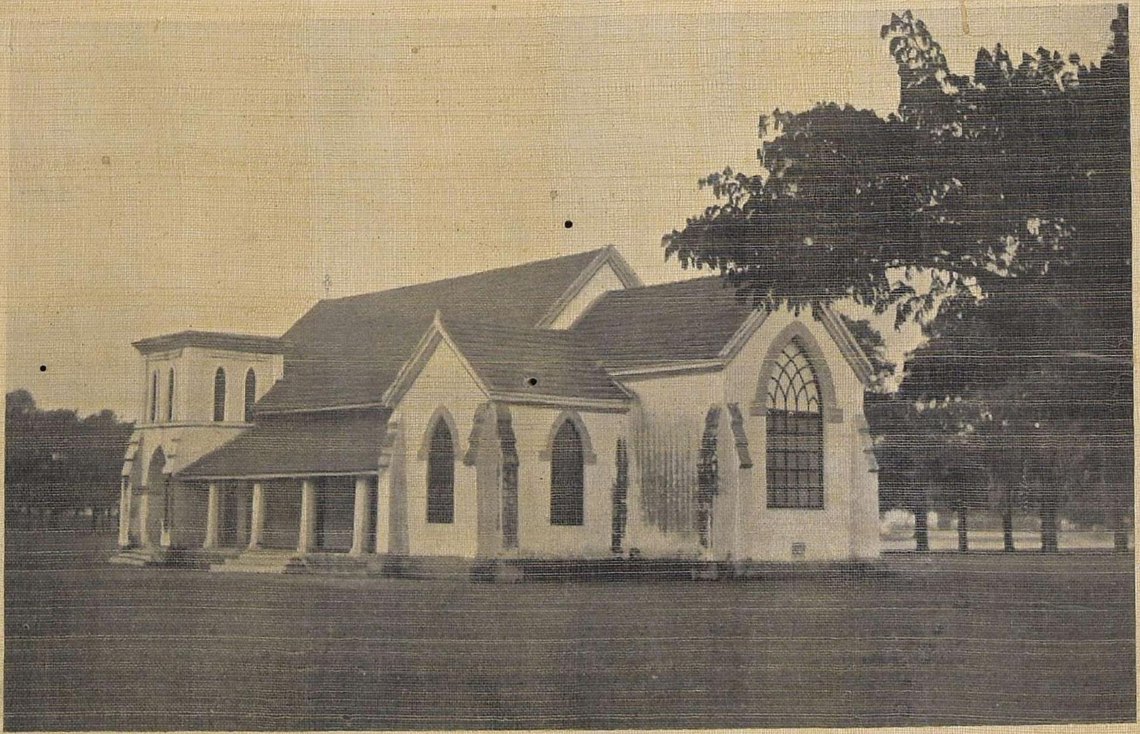
consisted of the Rev. James Sharp, Chaplain; Messrs. Henry Sewell, R. S. Benson, George Banbury and F. C. Carr-Gomm of the Madras Civil Service; H. Greswell and R. E. Norfor, Civil Engineers, Lt. Col. Whitlock of the Police, and the Rev. S. Pakkianathan the native clergyman.

The project was approved by the Bishop, and a subscription list was opened. The Rev. W. Relton, Secretary of the S.P.G. Committee in Madras, assisted in the collection of money on the ground that the intended building was for joint use. And locally Mr. James Sharp, Mr. Pakkianathan and Samuel Christian Pillay, exerted themselves in the same way. The Government granted a site on the Maidan free of quit rent 'so long as the intended building is used as a Church.' The building was designed by Mr. R. E. Norfor, and was erected under his superintendence in 1890. It was furnished partly by means of personal gifts and partly by means of special funds raised in the station; it was used for the first time in January 1892, and was solemnly consecrated to the service of God in honour of the Epiphany by the Bishop of Madras in March 1901.

The following list of subscribers recalls the names of many active and earnest Church workers in the Diocese in 1890; it includes only those who gave not less than 50 rupees.

The Bishop of Madras	250	S. Doraiswamy Iyer	75
Henry Sewell, Esq.	300	Robert Morris, Esq.	70
The Hon. Mr. R. S. Benson	200	Col. Hutchins	50
Devasimuttu Nadar	200	The Hon. Mr. J. Grose, C.S.I.	50
R. E. Norfor, Esq.	200	A. Ellis, Esq.	50
J. P. Davidson, Esq.	160	The Rev. W. H. Blake	50
The Rev. J. Sharp	150	S. Christian Pillai	50
The Hon. Mr. W. S. Whiteside	150	The Hon. Mr. Garstin, C.S.I.	50
The Rev. Arthur Bird	150	G. Power, Esq.	50
Duncan Irvine, Esq.	100	G. S. Gouge, Esq.	50
Sir P. P. Hutchins, K.C.S.I.	100	Sir Henry Bliss, K.C.S.I.	50
G. Banbury, Esq.	100	F. P.	50
F. C. Carr-Gomm, Esq.	100	W. F. Grahame, Esq.	50
Col. Whitlock	100	Col. H. Smalley	50

The ornaments and furniture of the new Church were the gifts singly and jointly of the congregation. Among the donors were Col. Whitlock (altar cross), Mrs. H. Sewell



HOLY EPIPHANY CHURCH, NEW TOWN, CUDDALORE.

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(vases), Mr. Bell (lectern), Mr. H. Sewell (Bible and Office books), Mrs. J. P. Davidson (Font), Mrs. Henry Grimes of Coimbatore (frontals).

Cuddalore is one of those stations which are not large enough to occupy the time of a Chaplain; but it is a convenient centre where one may be stationed to visit several similar places within 100 miles of it, where there are European official or non-official residents. When the Chaplain is elsewhere, service is as a rule conducted in these small stations by one or another of the Europeans. This is a praiseworthy old custom which has come down to us from the earliest days of the Company. Where there is a native clergyman, as at Cuddalore, it is pleasing to be able to record that the conduct of Divine Service is entrusted to him by consent,—so great has been the progress of education in the last quarter of a century.

Christ Church in the Old Town contains much handsome furniture which has been given by European residents in past days, sometimes when a Chaplain and sometimes when a Missionary was in charge. The altar cross was the gift of the Rev. J. A. Sharrock. The memorial tablets on the walls recall to memory the unstinted services of Missionaries, Chaplains and others who laid down their lives in the midst of their work; some have been already mentioned; but the list is incomplete without mention of the tablets of the Missionaries Holtzberg, Schreyvogel and Jones, and of the Chaplain Henry Allen who died in 1829.

Christ Church ought to possess both plate and register books of historic interest; but it does not. Until 1749 it possessed no plate. The visiting Chaplain from Fort St. George must have taken what was necessary with him on his visits. After 1746 this was not available. The Fort St. David Council wrote therefore to the Directors, and asked them to supply what was wanting. The Directors replied[1] that they would by the next opportunity send both communion plate and books[2] 'for the use of your chapel.' It is not likely that these survived the destruction of the chapel and the Fort in 1758; the old register books were probably

[1] Despatch, 21 Dec. 1748, 10.

[2] Bibles and Prayer Books.

destroyed at the same time. If these were renewed after 1761, the renewals were again destroyed at the second capture of the place in 1781. The existing register books were commenced in 1793 when Horst was Lector. The entries of baptism and marriage were written by him in Latin up to the time he left. There is no burial register before 1805. Up to 1899 there was an old register book, said to be a marvel of calligraphy, in the handwriting of an old pensioned soldier named J. Mather, the Church clerk, which was a copy of earlier books. In the year mentioned it was borrowed and not returned. So treasures are lost.[1]

The Church was consecrated by Bishop Spencer in January 1845.[2] By this time there had been 19 burials within its walls. Probably this fact was taken into consideration when the Bishop decided to set it apart definitely for strictly religious use only by the act of consecration. Only one intra-mural burial took place subsequently. The names of those buried in the Church are :—

Henry Eden	1768	Isabella Fraser	1821
Elizabeth Cosby	1771	William French	1823
Elizabeth Davis	1776	Edward William Stevenson	1823
Catherine Woodhouse	1777	Immanuel G. Holtzberg	1824
Martha Chase	1779	Thomas Parry	1824
John Rowley	1805	George Parry Gibson	1824
George Gilbert Keble	1811	John Hart Jollie	1829
Catherine Haslewood	1813	Daniel Schreyvogel	1840
Augusta Spiers	1814	Edward Jarrett Jones	1842
Ernest William Fallofield	1816	William Willis Weston	1847

[1] It was referred to in Murray's *Guide* as a curiosity.
[2] *Missions to the Heathen*, No. ix. S.P.C.K. 1848.

CHAPTER XIV

FROM THE SURRENDER OF FORT ST. GEORGE TO THE CAPTURE OF PONDICHERRY, 1746–1761

THE Fort and its town underwent some changes between the time when they were seen by Fryer and the time when they were surrendered to La Bourdonnais. Internally the change was not great. The old Fort House was not built sufficiently well to last a century. Within 70 years of its erection it had to be taken down; but before rebuilding it the plan was altered. The nature of the alteration is shown in the 1733 map.[1] Instead of having one large building within the inner walls containing the public offices and official quarters, five separate buildings were erected. The centre one was the official residence of the Governor; it also contained the Council chamber, the Library and the Record room. The other four buildings contained on the upper floor quarters for the senior officials including the Chaplain; the ground floors were probably used as stores. There was a guard room at the west entrance.

The other changes were in the names of some of the streets, and in the position of the hospital and the soldiers' barracks. The names of James Street and James Alley were altered on the establishment of the House of Orange on the throne; but the names of the other streets which were loyally called after various members of the House of Stuart were retained. James Street was called Church Street; and the narrow alley south of the Church which had formerly been called Church Street was called Church Lane.

So things remained until 1740, when the Directors at home as well as their servants abroad began to realise the

[1] This was in the Chief Engineer's office in 1861, when it was reproduced to illustrate Wheeler's *History*. See Mrs. Penny's *Fort St. George*, page 152.

growing power of the French at Pondicherry, and to see that better fortifications were necessary if they wished to retain their footing on the coast. The Directors sent out an experienced soldier, Major Knipe, to advise as to these. He was apparently told that it was essential that the Black Town and the White Town—that is, in the old language, Madraspatam and Fort St. George—should be included in one scheme of defence. In 1740 the Governor and Council reported that they had resolved to build a wall on the back side of the houses in Charles Street fronting the river; they added their opinion that all that side of the town should be fortified with walls and bastions, and then be enlarged by taking in part of the island. The sale of the freshly included ground, they said, would nearly defray the cost of the alteration. And the boundary line of the White Town would thus square with the west side of the Black Town.[1]

The Directors had this scheme before them in 1741; but did not altogether approve of it; they asked to be informed how Major Knipe was going to get over the difficulty of the river, and recommended a strengthening of the west side of the Fort without enlarging it.

The Council in their reply[2] said that their scheme was to turn the course of the river by digging a new bed for it in the dry weather, and filling up the old bed; which could be done with very little trouble and expense.

The Directors replied to this[3] by giving their consent; they said:—

> 'As to your proposal of enlarging and making the White square with the Black Town, and turning the course of the river by digging a trench etc. . . . . . . we leave it to your judgement in consultation with Major Knipe.'

But Major Knipe had died in the previous May. He secured Black Town[4] by building a ditch along the northern boundary from the river to the sea. The ditch was 2080 feet long, 40 feet broad, and from 12 to 20 feet deep, all faced in brick. On the sea side of the Black Town he built a wall

[1] Letter, 30 Sept. 1740.
[2] Letter, 11 Sept. 1742.
[3] Despatch, 21 March 1743–4, para. 63.
[4] Letter, 26 Sept. 1741.

from the ditch to the N.E. bastion of the Fort (Fishers Point). This wall was 2457 feet long, 12 feet high, and 6 feet thick. It had two bastions; one was completed in 1741 and had 16 guns mounted on it. He also built a wall from Caldera Point in a N.W. direction to meet the west wall of Black Town.

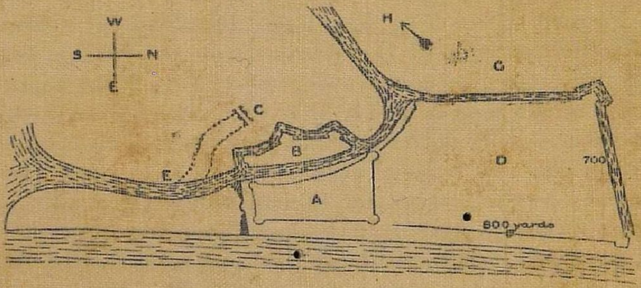
Although the Directors wrote at the beginning of 1744 leaving the defensive arrangements to the judgement of the local authorities, the death of Knipe prevented anything being done till a year later. Mr. Joseph Smith was then sent as Engineer to Fort St. George.[1] In Sept. 1745 the Governor and Council wrote that they had determined to enlarge and fortify the west side of the White Town by building two new bastions.[2] On the 31st Jan. 1745–6 they wrote again that the rains had been so heavy they had not laid one brick since September. It is not likely that they were able to complete their project of enlargement between that date and the following August, when the French fleet arrived with a large French force on board. The work was being done when the fleet appeared. The result of the long delay in carrying out Major Knipe's plan was that when the French appeared the Fort was incapable of defence; so that after a bombardment from the east, south, and west sides, lasting a few hours, it was arranged to surrender it pending the payment of a ransom.[3]

In the British Museum there is a map of 'Madras et le Fort St. George, pris par les Francais, commandés par M. Mahé de la Bourdonnais, le 21 Sept. 1746. La ville gravée sur le plan de Sr. Paradis, et les environs faits de memoire.' It is dated Paris 1750. It was reproduced in the Universal Magazine in that year; and again in 1902 in the Vicissitudes of Fort St. George by David Leighton. It is a valuable representation of the Fort and town as they were in 1746 when the Company lost them. The rest is inaccurate; but if it be compared with a map dated 1733, reproduced in the History of Fort St. George (p. 48), and with a modern map, it is useful in so far as it shows where different buildings

[1] He was the father of General Joseph Smith, who so frequently defeated Hyder Ali and his troops.
[2] Letter, 24 Sept. 1745.
[3] *History of Fort St. George*, pp. 157–160.

were. The accompanying map has been produced by a study of all three ; it is intended to show how far the defensive works were advanced when the French took possession.

The French authorities destroyed the whole of the Black Town, levelled the houses and walls and filled up the ditches; so as to have a clear space between the walls of the Fort and the nearest building.[1] They also destroyed the houses situated in the space G for the same reason. They completed Knipe's western addition B ; they diverted the river according to his plan ; but they had not quite finished the filling in of



1746. *Not drawn exactly to scale.—F. P.*

A is the old fortified enclosure.
B is Knipe's design partly carried out.
C is the foundation of the Wallajah Bridge under which the diverted river was to flow.[2]
EC the intended course of the river.
D is Black Town (see the 1733 map).
G is the site of a suburb of regular streets where the weavers and washers lived.
H and the arrow represent the direction in which the Governor's garden house was.

the old bed of the river which passed through the Fort when they had to hand back the whole property to the Company. In the History of Fort St. George is reproduced from an old print a picture of the Fort from the north west soon after its rendition.[3] It shows the unfinished glacis on the north side on the site of the Black Town. The Fort as returned in 1749 was quite different in appearance from that taken in

[1] Letter, 2 May 1747, 97.
[2] The foundations were laid in 1743, but the bridge was not built till 1755.
[3] Page 170. The union jack is flying; the St. Andrew's spire is standing, so it was made between 1749 and 1752.

1746. As a place of defence it was greatly strengthened; and as a place of abode it was greatly improved by the removal of the native town from under its walls.

Ecclesiastically speaking the French did not do very much damage. It is not known to what use the Church was put; the organ was carried away to Pondicherry; the Church plate escaped confiscation—whether it was concealed by a friend or used by the Roman Catholics in their own Church of St. Andrew is not known; it is certain that it was not carried away to Fort St. David; the Register Book was not destroyed; but the Vestry Minute Book and the Account Books of the Church Stock and the Charity Stock were lost. The French Roman Catholics had a burial ground of their own; and so the English 'guava garden' was left untouched. Besides these properties, which were regarded then as belonging to the Vestry, there was also a Church, a Mission House, and two school buildings belonging to the S.P.C.K. Mission. The Church and the School buildings were erected in 1736 after communications between the Society, the Directors, and the local Government; the Mission House was the house of the Missionary Schultz, which he gave to the Mission when he returned to his native country in 1742.[1] William Taylor, the S.P.G. Missionary and historian of the S.P.C.K. Mission in India, endeavoured to ascertain the position of these different buildings. He arrived at the conclusion that the Mission House and the schools were at or near John Pereira's Garden; and he was told in 1840 by an aged native that the Church was near the present Lighthouse. As to the house and the schools, they were demolished by the French with all other buildings within a certain radius of the Fort. And the mission Church was converted into a Magazine.

The French remained in possession nearly three years. Before the rendition they removed the guns to Pondicherry and many other things they had a fancy for; but the Commissioners appointed by Admiral Boscawen for receiving back the Fort—Major Stringer Lawrence, Messieurs Wynch and Westcott—were instructed to ask no questions and to make no difficulties. Robert Palk, the Chaplain, was on

[1] William Taylor's *Memoir*, pp. 7–11. Ed. 1847.

board H.M.S. Namur, which with the rest of the squadron was lying off the Fort during the rendition.[1] Seven days after the rendition he officiated at the funeral of a seaman of the York at the old Cemetery, and registered the event in the Burials Book. During the month of September he buried 9 other seamen and 2 soldiers. On the 1st October he buried an officer, Lieut. James Long, of Lord Torrington's Regiment of Marines, who was shot in a duel with the Commander of the York in Madeiras' Garden—that is, the compound of the present Government House. The fleet then sailed away; and in the month of December George Swynfen the Chaplain arrived from Fort St. David.

The Governor and Council of Fort St. David appointed a Deputy Governor and Council to rule over Fort St. George and sent Swynfen to minister at St. Mary's. The restored inhabitants did not lose much time before looking into their ecclesiastical interests. A Vestry meeting was held on the 3rd January 1749–50; at this meeting there were present the Deputy Governor, the four members of Council, the Chaplain and 15 others. Amongst those present were the two old Churchwardens, the two old Sidesmen, and the old Treasurer of the Charity School Stock. These were all re-appointed. The Churchwardens—Henry Powney and Joseph Fowke—delivered in their accounts for the year 1746, showing a balance in hand of Pagodas 1842 to the credit of the Church Stock. William Percival, the Treasurer of the Charity School Stock, gave in no accounts. The three officials were able to tell the Vestry of the loans that had been made, and to assist materially in the recovery of the Church and Charity Stocks and house properties. A month later another Vestry meeting was held. The Deputy Governor, three members of Council, the Chaplain George Swynfen, and 12 others were present. They continued the discussion of their stocks, their loans, their mortgages and their house property; and were as intent upon preventing loss to their charitable funds as the most charitable of the Directors could wish.

[1] The other ships were the York, the Sheerness, the Eltham, the Swallow the Exeter, the Chester, the Deptford and the Syren; all these are mentioned in the St. Mary's Burial Register in August and September 1749.

On the 17th Nov. 1750 George Swynfen died. During his short residence on the Coast he won the respect and confidence and gratitude of the S.P.C.K. Missionaries. They wrote home to the Society that they had lost a sympathetic friend, a wise and affectionate counsellor, who had freely given them his help, his sympathy and his love.[1]

On Swynfen's death the Assistant Surgeon at Fort St. George offered himself for reading prayers and performing the other Church duties at the usual gratuity, and was appointed by the Governor and Council.[2]

It has been related how Palk left the Coast a month before Swynfen's death, and returned to it immediately on hearing the sad news, and how he was re-entertained by the Governor and Council with much pleasure and satisfaction. He was the only Chaplain on the Coast till June 1752, when Staveley and Colefax arrived. During this time he paid occasional visits to Fort St. George; he was at a Vestry meeting there in August 1751. He was the bearer of a sum of money (Pagodas 1500) which the merchants at the Presidency had subscribed for the benefit of two Miss Somervilles, whose father lost his life in the Company's military service. This sum of money he paid into the Church Stock at the meeting, whilst the Fort St. George merchants paid in Pagodas 425 at the same time and for the same purpose.

In the previous November the Vestry had determined to amalgamate the Church Stock and the Charity School Stock, so as to have one set of trustees and one Treasurer for both funds. The funds have ever since remained amalgamated.

At this same meeting of the Vestry in August 1751 one of the senior merchants, Mr. John Smith, 'paid in and presented to the Church' Pagodas 500 for the purchase of an Organ. Thereupon the Minister and Churchwardens wrote the following letter to the Governor and Council at Fort St. David[3]:—

'There being a balance of Pagodas 3568 due this day from William Monson Esquire to the Church Stock, we desire the favour that you will request the Court of Directors to

[1] Hough's *Christianity in India*, iii. 414.
[2] Fort St. David Consultations, Dec. 1750.
[3] *Home Series*, Miscellaneous, vol. 59.

receive the sum with the interest etc. . . . And as a gentleman has been pleased to deposit £300 in our stock to replace the organ carried away by the French, we have ordered Mr. Bridge or Mr. Byfield in his absence, to build us another, and to procure an organist to come out with it. We therefore desire the Court of Directors will give both a passage out on one of their ships in Nov. or Dec. 1752, as well as pay the £300 to the maker when he applies.

(Signed) 'ROBERT PALK, *Minister*.
'JOHN WALSH, }
'JOHN SMITH, } *Churchwardens*.

'Sept. 1751.'

The Governor and Council resolved to do as the Vestry wished [1]; and wrote at once to the Directors.[2]

The money however was not sent; it remained in the Church Stock ready for the payment of the bill after the organ had been supplied. It is impossible to say what the intention of the Vestry was; it looks as if they desired the Directors to order the organ and take the sea risk, and to pay only on the safe arrival of the instrument. But the Directors would not do this. Mr. John Smith 'paid in and presented to the Church' Pagodas 250 in Dec. 1752 to complete the purchase of the Organ. But no reply was received from the Directors about it. At the Vestry meeting held in October 1753 it was resolved to send home £300 for the organ and £20 for the organist, and to ask the Governor and Council to mention the matter again in their next letter home.[3] This was done; the organ was ordered; and it arrived at the end of 1759. The Vestry thanked [4] Mr. Smith for his handsome present; they enquired of him the value of the gift that they might enter it in their 'dead stock' account, and found it to be Pagodas 1000. They desired Mr. John Call, the Engineer, to advise regarding the enlargement of the gallery 'to admit of its being placed in a commodious manner, and to advantage'; and they voted the new organist a salary of £100 a year. Mr. Call reported [5] that the best

[1] Fort St. David Consultations, Oct. 1751.
[2] Letter, 24 Oct. 1751, paragraph 24.
[3] Vestry Proceedings, Oct. 1753.
[4] Do. 8 Jan. 1760. [5] Do. 15 Jan. 1760.

way to enlarge the gallery was to take down the wall of the west end of the middle aisle, and extend the gallery to the steeple by continuing the arched roof to the steeple. This was ordered to be done. The alteration cost Pagodas 900; the Vestry ordered the bill to be paid, and gave the Master Carpenter Pagodas 50 for his trouble, and Pagodas 25 for setting up the organ.[1] This organ was in use in the Church till 1859.[2]

To go back to the Vestry meeting of August 1751 when the subject of the organ was first mooted, it is interesting to note that it was the first Vestry meeting attended by Robert Palk. At this meeting also it was resolved to pay to Shawmur Sultan Pagodas 60 for house rent for the Charity School. It does not say whether this rent was for one year or two years. Anyway at this time a house was being hired for the school in the place of the one pulled down. The hired house was not in the Fort; for it belonged to a Native; and no Native could hold property in the Fort at this period. Eighteen months later the Schoolmaster, Mr. Hubbard, applied to the Vestry for payment for teaching and maintaining charity children since the loss of Madras; and the Vestry ordered payment. It is not stated where the Schoolmaster taught and maintained the children. But it is satisfactory to know that the children were not dispersed; that they were taken care of during the troubled period of French occupation; and that the Vestry repaid the Schoolmaster for his devotion to duty.

In April 1752 the Coast Government was re-established at Fort St. George by order of the Directors. Robert Palk moved with the Governor and Council. At this time there were between 400 and 500 Swiss soldiers quartered in the new barracks—that is, the old Hospital—in the Fort. They were permitted the use of St. Mary's Church for their public worship, and Fabricius ministered to them. In spite of various advantages the Swiss troops were not contented; and there were many desertions to the French. One of the first duties of the Governor and Council was to try and find a remedy for this. They decided to divide the corps into

[1] Vestry Proceedings, 2 July 1761. [2] *History of Fort St. George*, page 227.

halves, and send one half to Fort St. David.[1] The desertions continued at both places; so that a year later (1753) the men were brought back to Fort St. George,[2] and distributed amongst various corps in the service of the Company at various settlements. Fabricius and Kiernander, who were appointed to minister to them at Fort St. George and Fort St. David, were Lutherans; the men were mostly Calvinists. It was believed that the ministrations were acceptable; perhaps they were not.

In June 1752 the newly appointed Chaplains Samuel Staveley and Thomas Colefax arrived. These arrivals necessitated either the dismissal or the transfer of Robert Palk. But the local Government had been learning to depend somewhat on his prudence and foresight and counsel, and had no wish to lose him. They appointed him therefore in the month of August Military Paymaster and Commissary in the Field, and made this entry in the Consultation Book:—

> 'The account of the army in camp having been kept in an irregular manner, which creates confusion, 'tis agreed that the Rev. Robert Palk be appointed Paymaster and Commissary in the Field at the rate of 10s. a day salary and Rs. 5 a day batta.'

Besides this he and Colefax were appointed to minister at Fort St. George, while Staveley was sent to Fort St. David. This arrangement did not last long; for on the 26 August Colefax died.

The Governor and Council recalled Staveley a year later from Fort St. David, and made him and Palk the joint-ministers at Fort St. George. Whilst this fresh arrangement was being made a Despatch was on its way to Fort St. George directing Palk to go to Tellicherry as Chaplain; and insisting upon the Company's nominees, Staveley and Colefax, being the Chaplains on the Coast, notwithstanding the re-admission of Palk to the service. And another letter was on its way from the Governor and Council of Bombay, applying for the services of Palk there, in consequence of the death of

[1] Consultations, April 1752. [2] Do. 14 January 1753.

the Rev. Mr. Richard Dixie.[1] The death of Colefax enabled the Council to evade both demands and to keep Palk with them.

The objection of the Directors to the local appointment of Palk had been going on now for five years; and the experience of the local Government of his value as a man of sound judgement was of the same age. Without there being any open collision or defiance of authority there was a distinct effort on the one side not to make use of his genius for government, and on the other to do so. When the Directors heard of his appointment as Military Paymaster, they wrote[2]:—

'We observe that the Rev. Mr. Palk acts by your appointment as Paymaster and Commissary of the Army, employments very incompatible with his station as one of our Chaplains. We therefore direct that he be immediately discharged from those military employs, and apply himself solely to the discharge of his duty as a Chaplain.'

Four months before this Despatch reached Fort St. George the Fort St. George Government appointed Henry Van Sittart and Robert Palk to be Peace Commissioners; they were to meet the Commissioners appointed by Dupleix at Sadras, and to discuss the terms on which the country powers, the French and the English could consent to live peaceably. Before this Palk had been employed on political duty; he had been despatched as ambassador to the Court of Tanjore, and had acquitted himself so well that the local Government had presented him with a ring of the value of Pagodas 1000. The Conference with the French representatives came to nothing. Dupleix' claims were founded on forged documents, and were exorbitant. The French Foreign Office was ashamed of Dupleix' unblushing forgeries; and he was recalled. But Palk's civil, military and political employments had to be excused; the Governor and Council therefore wrote[3] that his employments as Paymaster of the Army and Deputy to Sadras arose from his capacity and prudence; that his

[1] He was the Chaplain to H.M.S. Preston, who officiated at Fort St. George in 1746, when his ship was lying in the Madras roads.

[2] Despatch, 23 Jan. 1753–4, para. 55.

[3] Letter, 10 Nov. 1754, para. 85.

negotiations at the Court of Tanjore were successful without advantage to him; and that with the necessity there was likely to be of his future services they had presented him with a diamond ring of the value of Pagodas 1000.

There was at Fort St. George at this period a Select Committee for the general management of the political and military affairs of the Coast. The establishment of this Committee enabled the Governor and Council to avail themselves of the assistance of officers, whose advice they valued, but who were not members of the Council. Colonel Scott,[1] the Engineer General, was a member of the Committee. When he died, Robert Palk was appointed to the vacancy,[2] and remained a member till he went home in 1758.

Before the letter conveying the intimation of this appointment had reached London, the Directors wrote[3] ordering Palk to proceed to Fort St. David and to reside there; and they added 'it must be a rule in future for the junior Chaplain always to officiate at that station.' 'Although we are thoroughly satisfied of the ability and services of Mr. Palk, we must, without intending the least derogation of them, say that so considerable a present as Pagodas 1000 should not have been given by you without our previous approbation.'

The Governor informed Robert Palk of the Hon. Company's order; whereupon Palk declared his intention of returning to Europe with H.M.'s Squadron; at the same time he requested leave to remain at the Presidency to settle his affairs.[4] This application was complied with; and Palk remained at Fort St. George in the useful exercise of his various offices of Chaplain, Military Paymaster, and Select Committeeman till August 1758.

He arrived in England in 1759, being the bearer of letters from the Nabob of the Carnatic to the King and to the Company.[5] It did not take the Directors very long to understand why the Fort St. George Council so thoroughly appreciated him; they came under his magic spell themselves, and wrote out[6]:—

[1] Col. Scott belonged to H.M.'s 29th Regiment; he was A.D.C. to H.R.H. the Duke of Cumberland.

[2] Consultations, 10 Sept. 1755.

[3] Despatch, 19 Dec. 1755, paras. 71, 72.

[4] Consultations, Oct. 1756.

[5] Despatch, 15 Feb. 1760, para. 57.

[6] Despatch, 31 Dec. 1760, para. 63.

'We have fixed upon Mr. Robert Palk to succeed Mr. Pigot in the Government whenever it shall become vacant by the resignation or decease of that gentleman, being fully convinced his ability and experience will be of great service to the Company, both before and after his succession to the Government, especially as affairs are at present circumstanced.'

Robert Palk went out in 1761 with Colonel Lawrence as his fellow passenger.[1] He took the oaths of allegiance to the King and fidelity to the Company, and commenced his civil and political life as Export Warehouseman, and Commissary in dealing with the country powers, in October 1761.[2]

The St. Mary's Vestry were accustomed to hold a meeting once a year for the submission of the Church Charity Fund accounts and the election of Churchwardens and Sidesmen. Occasionally there was an extra meeting. The business recorded had principally to do with the investment of the Fund, the relief of the poor, and the repair of the Church and house property. In the early days of the re-constituted Vestry it was decided to lend the trust money only on the security of houses. In 1753 it was decided to lend in addition on double floating security. And in 1755, for the reason that the Vestry could not get out all it had to lend, it was resolved to lend to inhabitants on double personal security, which they thought 'at least as good as double floating security.' In Nov. 1755 the Churchwardens reported that they had Pagodas 7859 in hand, 'with no prospect of employment of it.' In February 1757 this credit balance had increased to Pagodas 12000. It was resolved to offer this amount to the Governor and Council as a loan at 7 per cent. The offer was accepted; and in July 1761 the Vestry offered to the Government Pagodas 4000 more. The Ministers and Churchwardens received bonds in exchange.[3] The careful nursing of this Fund for the benefit of the Church, the poor, and the School reflects the greatest credit on successive Ministers and Churchwardens of St. Mary's. It has been already mentioned how this fund arose and grew; but one source of income has not

[1] Despatch, 13 March 1761, para. 75. [2] Consultations, October 17
[3] Do. 4 Feb. 1757, and July 1761.

been mentioned. The following letter to the Governor explains what it was[1]:—

'We beg leave to remind you that before the capture of this place all boats that were employed of a Sunday used to pay 6 fanams every trip to the School Stock which is now incorporated with the Church stock, the charitable expenses of which are lately increased by the erecting of a public Charity School here under the Rev. Mr. Staveley, and by a monthly allowance to several of the European inhabitants.

(Signed) 'SAM. STAVELEY, *Minister*.
'ALEX. WYNCH,
'CHARLES BOURCHIER, } *Churchwardens*.'

The Council agreed that this small fine should continue; it was only occasionally necessary to work on Sunday; when, for instance, the Monsoon was threatening, and the ships were in a hurry to get away from the shore as soon as possible. The income therefore from this source was very small; in some years there was no receipt at all.

Mr. Samuel Staveley was a Schoolmaster before he entered the Company's service. In 1753 he offered to keep and superintend the Charity School if the Vestry would grant him an extra salary of £100. The offer was accepted; and one of the houses in Middle Gate Street bequeathed by Mrs. Mary Williams to the Vestry was appropriated for the purpose.[2] The school was thus again brought inside the Fort; and there it remained until 1872. This arrangement seemed so satisfactory to the Vestry and to the inhabitants generally that they proposed to the gentlemen of Fort St. David to amalgamate the Charity Stock there with the Church and Charity Stock at Fort St. George; and to educate the children of the military of both places at Fort St. George under Mr. Staveley.[3] There is no record that this proposal was accepted; but there can be no doubt that it was. The Schoolhouse in Middlegate Street was damaged in the siege of 1758–9; but was ordered to be repaired, together with the Church lodgings and the house in James Street, by the Vestry.[4]

Besides paying in Pagodas 1500 to the Church Stock in

[1] Consultations, May 1754.
[2] Vestry Proceedings, Oct. 1753.
[3] Do. Nov. 1753.
[4] Do. March 1759.

1751 for the benefit of the Miss Somervilles Robert Palk paid in two other sums. One was a sum of money he raised when at Fort St. David for building a Chapel, but which was not used for that purpose; he stipulated that if any of the donors should demand the return of their gift on the ground that it was not put to the purpose for which it was raised, the Churchwardens should pay them.[1] The other was a sum of money amounting to Pagodas 1150 which he collected for Anne Martha Bellamy, one of the children of the Rev. Mr. Bellamy who perished in the Black Hole of Calcutta. Since the collection was made she had married Lieut. Charles Palmer of the Bombay Establishment. But Palk and the other subscribers wished the money to be received in trust for her benefit, in case she should ever need it; or for any similar purpose if she did not.[2] The Vestry accepted the trust. At a Vestry meeting on the 23 March 1759 Mrs. Palmer was reported dead. The Vestry thereupon voted that the money should be used for the benefit of the two Miss Empsons, who were left in indifferent circumstances.

The Vestry Minutes of this period contain records of repairs to the Church, and the burial ground wall,[3] and other Vestry property; the Vestry also supplied new benches for the accommodation of the soldiers and others.[4] But they could not go to the expense of fitting up a seat for the Governor. This matter was discussed in Council, and it was resolved that[5]:—

'The Governor's seat in the Church having been destroyed when the settlement was in the possession of the French, and not having been since replaced, . . . a proper seat be now fitted up at the Company's expense.'

The cost of it was Pagodas 143. In 1762 the Mayor and Corporation applied to the Vestry for 12 new chairs and stools in their seat, and for a broader book ledge. The Vestry, however, informed them[6] that they could not do it, being already at so great a charge in charities; but they gave the

[1] Vestry Proceedings, Nov. 1753.
[2] Do. 19 Dec. 1757.
[3] Do. 5 Feb. 1755.
[4] Do. 5 Nov. 1755.
[5] Consultations, August 1755.
[6] Vestry Proceedings, 11 Feb. 1762.

Mayor and Corporation permission to furnish whatever they thought proper themselves.

In 1756 the Vestry ordered that a list of the Church property should be entered in the Minute Book. The list is as follows:—

1 Silver Dish . . .	99½ ounces	82 Pagodas
1 Silver-gilt Do. . . .	46¼ "	38 "
4 Silver-gilt salvers . .	59¾ "	49 "
2 Silver-gilt chalices . .	72½ "	60 "
2 Silver hand mugs . .	72 "	60 "
		291 "

23 Benches . . .	at 12 Pagodas	
10 Do. . . .	" 3 "	
17 Couches . . .	" 6 "	
4 Blackwood chairs .	" 6½ "	
12 Teakwood Do. .	" 2 "	
1 Blackwood table .	" 12 "	
1 Do. stand .	" 3 "	
11 Footstools . .	" 40 "	501 Pagodas
Church and lodgings valued at . .		5066 "
Total value . . .		5858

One of the most important features of this period was the coming of the King's troops. The 39th came first in 1754. The regimental senior officers did not like the position of subordination to the Civil government of Fort St. George. There were many disputes. Finally the regiment was recalled.[1] All the Field officers were to return; others were to have the choice of entering the Company's service. Arms and equipment were to be left for those who volunteered, as well as the small train of artillery. In Nov. 1757 350 men volunteered to serve the Company for 3 years under Lieutenant Carnac, who was at once promoted Captain; and the rest went home. In December of the same year another battalion came out under Colonel Draper; it was 1100 strong; it had on paper a Surgeon and a Chaplain; but no Chaplain came with it. This battalion was afterwards the 79th. In September 1759 arrived another battalion under Colonel Eyre Coote. This battalion also had a Chaplain on

[1] Despatch, 1 Feb. 1757.

paper, but not in reality. It was afterwards the 84th. The arrival of the King's troops gave extra work to the Chaplains; for this they received extra allowances, and continued to do so until the end of the century, when their pay was raised to a sum considered an equivalent for every duty they performed. In connection with the soldiers it is interesting to note that the Governor and Council wrote to the Directors at the end of 1758 to say that they had suspended the arrack farm, and prohibited the sale of arrack to the men for two months as an experiment; and that the good effects were soon visible in the decrease of men in hospital.—The Directors, in spite of the loss of revenue, approved of what they had done; and gave authority to the Council to renew or suspend the farm as they thought fit.[1]

The most exciting incident of the period was the siege of Fort St. George in 1758–9. It was anticipated for six months. In the month of June a special meeting of the Vestry was held. The Governor was present as usual, the Churchwardens, six others and Robert Palk. The following is extracted from the Vestry Minutes:—

'The Governor represented to the Vestry that under the present apprehension of a siege it is judged absolutely necessary to convert the barracks into a hospital, in order that the buildings at present used as a hospital in the Pettah[2] may be demolished; that the want of room and convenience in the White Town, as well as of time and artificers to erect proper accommodation for the military renders it necessary to apply to this Vestry for the Church to be used during the present exigency as a barrack until other accommodation shall be provided.

'The Rev. Mr. Palk thereupon acquainted the Vestry that he considered it as his duty on this occasion to recommend to their serious attention the sacred purposes to which that building had been consecrated; at the same time it behoved them to contribute everything in their power to the good of the State; & they ought not to be unmindful of their religion which was inseparable from it.

'It is the opinion of this Vestry that the Church appropriated to divine worship ought not on any occasion but that of real necessity to be applied to any other uses; but as it

[1] Despatch, 23 Nov. 1759, para. 64. [2] This pettah was west of the Fort.

appears to this Vestry upon the representations of the Governor, supported by those of Colonel Lawrence, the times will not permit the raising or providing any fit accommodations for the military without drawing off the artificers from works immediately necessary for the defence of the town.

'Upon that consideration which is deemed a real necessity the Vestry do consent that the Church may during the present threatening dangers be used as a barrack; and thereupon it is resolved that the keys be delivered to the President and Council, and that the Church be put under their direction.

'Ordered that the books be deposited in the Company's Library; and that the seats benches etc. be put in the Admiralty House.'

At the same meeting the Churchwardens asked to be indemnified against loss in the event of the capture of the Fort; and this was done.

It was only a short siege of 3 months; but much damage was done, and many lives lost. Governor Pigot warmly acknowledged the bravery of all concerned.[1] The loss on the British side was 26 officers and 365 Europeans killed and wounded, of whom 250 died. Besides these 122 Europeans were taken prisoners in Draper's sortie; and there were 20 desertions.[2] It gives an idea of the persistent stubbornness of the defence to read the Artillery return when the siege was raised. There were fired from the Fort 26,554 rounds from the cannon, 7502 shells from the mortars, and 200000 cartridges from the muskets. 1990 hand grenades were thrown and 1768 barrels of powder were used. Thirty of the enemy's cannon and five mortars were dismounted.[3] The British Sepoy loss was 114 killed, and 232 wounded.

The French made use of the cemetery wall and the monuments for cover; and, thus protected, fired into the Fort embrasures. It was necessary therefore to level the wall and the tombs when the siege was raised. This was done by order of the Council; the bricks composing the wall and the monuments were carried away; but the inscribed stones were taken and arranged round the Church inside the Fort. Three

[1] Letter, 21 Feb. 1759.
[2] Wilson, *History of the Madras Army*, vol. i. 103.
[3] Monograph on Captain Robert Barker by C. Dalton, Esq.

monuments only were left, commemorating members of the Yale, Hynmers, Powney, Heron, Goodwin, Proby and Lucas families.[1] In the course of the next 150 years it was quite forgotten that that unenclosed corner had ever been the burial ground of the settlement. People wondered why the monuments were there. A local newspaper ventured to guess that they covered the graves of some humble Dissenters, who had been excluded from the St. Mary's Cemetery on account of their religious views. The records of its early use were buried in the Record Office. They awaited exhumation. But before the exhumation took place the Government used the site for building the new Law College. It was a perfectly unintentional disrespect of ground consecrated for the solemn use of burial of the Christian dead.

However, the wall and monuments were levelled in March 1759[2]; and the Vestry agreed at once to apply for another piece of ground for burial purposes. It was not till December[2] 1760 that the Engineer was ordered to select a spot in communication with the Vestry. And it was not till Feb. 1762[2] that the Vestry asked the Governor and Council to enclose the ground with a brick wall at the Company's expense[3] since they had not only levelled the wall of the old ground, but had also carried the bricks away. During this transition period both grounds were probably used. There is no break in the burial register book, nor note, to show when one ground ceased to be used and the other commenced. The oldest monument in the new ground is dated 1763. The names of the officers and men who lost their lives during the siege are not entered in the register book. It is not known where they were buried. It is very certain they could not have been buried in the old cemetery. In consequence of the close investment on the north and west sides the only available place was to the South of the Fort, between it and the mouth of the river, near the Muckwa (fisher) village.

In 1759 the 89th Regiment arrived; a year later came the 96th; and a year later the 103rd. The arrival of so many of the King's troops entirely changed the character of the

[1] *History of Fort St. George.* [2] Vestry Proceedings of those dates.
[3] Consultations, 29 Jan. 1760.

settlement. Fresh duties were imposed upon the Company's Chaplains as well as upon the Company's Governor and Council—duties which were not anticipated when they were appointed, but which they struggled to perform to the best of their ability. The Vestry met as usual and looked after its property with commendable care. One of the Naval Chaplains, Edward Milner of H.M.S. Newcastle, was left behind by the fleet in 1759 sick. Being in great distress the Vestry voted him Pagodas 50 from its Fund. Other similar cases of distress were similarly dealt with. Money was paid in for the benefit of wives, widows and orphans, and the Vestry accepted the various trusts. Mrs. Anne Westcott and Miss Elizabeth Pigou profited in this way. In 1757 Peter Uscan's legacy—of which hereafter—was taken into the Church Stock. In 1760 Captain Peter Eckman's legacy was taken in, half of which was for ordinary Vestry purposes and half for the benefit of military pensioners. Repairs were ordered, executed and paid for. New coverings for the Altar and the Pulpit and the Kneelers were obtained. And boys were apprenticed to ships' captains and others from the St. Mary's School.

But whilst these ordinary rounds of duty were being performed, the Directors were fuming at their various losses, and bargaining with the King for the loan of troops. Fort St. David, Cuddalore, Devicottah, and other smaller possessions had been taken by the French and temporarily lost to the Company. They wrote angrily to the Governor and Council in 1759 [1] and said :—

> 'If it should be at any time your good fortune to take any of the French settlements, we positively direct that the fortifications be entirely razed.'

They sanctioned Pagodas 18000 for pulling down more houses in the Black Town, so as to have a larger radius of clear space round the Fort. When they wrote in 1760 [2] they spoke of the anticipated investment of Pondicherry by sea and by land. And when the fall of Pondicherry and the total destruction of its walls and outworks was reported to them,

[1] Despatch, 23 Nov. 1759, paras. 44 and 59. [2] Do. 31 Dec. 1760, para. 86.

they were both profoundly grateful and profoundly relieved. They wrote [1] :—

'We are justly sensible of the great share our Governor, Mr. Pigot, has had in contributing to the reduction of this rival and dangerous settlement'; and they conveyed their thanks and acknowledgements to Admirals Stevens and Cornish as well as to Colonels Coote and Monson.

The fall and destruction of Pondicherry would not have concerned this ecclesiastical record, if it had not happened that both officers and men carried away and brought to Fort St. George various ecclesiastical articles of loot. The organ which the French carried away from St. Mary's in 1749 was brought back. It was not wanted at St. Mary's; so, at the request of Henry Van Sittart, President of Fort William, Bengal (formerly and up to 1760 a member of the Fort St. George Council), it was sent to Calcutta for use in the Church there.[2] A printing press was found also; this was presented to the S.P.C.K. mission at Vepery on the condition that it was to be at the service of the Government when required.[2] Captain Hislop, Commandant of the Artillery, took possession of 18 Church bells, and offered them to the Vestry through his agent Andrew Ross.[3] The Vestry inspected them, found them to be of various kinds and sizes; the price asked was very high; so they resolved to refuse the offer. Mr. Call, the Engineer, offered two clocks to the Vestry as a present.[3] This offer the Vestry accepted with thanks; and ordered that one should be forthwith fixed in the steeple.

During the siege of Fort St. George and the use of the Church for military purposes many of the properties, including Prayer Books and Bibles, were lost. These could not be supplied from Pondicherry. At a Vestry held in February 1762 the want of 4 large Prayer Books, 50 small ones, 24 Bibles, and some other 'books of the propagation of the Gospel' was mentioned; and it was resolved to ask the Directors to make good the loss. At the same meeting it was resolved to fix brass curtain rods and pillars in the organ loft at the back of the gallery.

[1] Despatch, 30 Sept. 1761, para. 27. [2] Consultations, June 1761.
[3] Vestry Proceedings, July 1761 and Feb. 1762.

The carrying away of so much property from Pondicherry was partly due to the recollection of what had been carried away from Fort St. George in 1749, and the wholesale destruction of property in Black Town. It may be assumed that the humanity of the French and Irish and German officers at the sieges of Fort St. David[1] and Fort St. George[2] in 1758 was also remembered when Pondicherry fell.

[1] Chapter xiii. [2] Pearson's *Life of Schwartz*, i. 129.

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CHAPTER XV

THE COMPANY AND THE ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSION FROM 1746 TO 1765

UP to 1746 there had been no want of toleration or even kindliness towards the Roman Catholics on the Coast. The Directors and the local Government had insisted upon being supreme in all matters within their jurisdiction, and had therefore jealously preserved their right of patronage. Having secured this they gave the mission a free hand in the management of its own concerns. But after 1746 there was a change. The treachery of a few was ascribed to the whole community; so that the whole community had to suffer from the distrust and indignation which the acts of treachery called forth.

On receiving the detailed reports of the surrender of Fort St. George during the year 1747 the Directors reserved their judgement until the end of the year and then wrote. It is likely enough that they thought the rumours of treachery merely efforts to bring the blame home to some one for an event which was bitterly exasperating to all concerned. But as proofs were forthcoming this is what they agreed to say[1]:—

'Having suffered greatly by the number of priests and popish inhabitants at Madras, who have acted a very treacherous part to us continually in that place, especially when it was attacked, therefore we strictly forbid your suffering any Romish Church within our bounds,[2] or any of their priests to dwell among you, or that religion to be openly professed; and in case any papists have crept into places of

[1] Despatch to Fort St. David, 24 Dec. 1747, 25.
[2] This referred to Fort St. David at the time it was written.

trust in our service, they must be immediately dismissed; you are not to deem this order to affect the Armenians of the Greek persuasion.'

On the surrender of Fort St. George, Padre Severini retired with his orphans to the Dutch settlement of Pulicat. From that place he wrote on the 7th Sept. 1748 to the Governor of Fort St. David for the repayment of the 6000 pagodas he had deposited in the Company's cash. The Council deferred the matter and wrote home for orders.[1] In the same letter they reported that they had expelled from Fort St. David a man named Barnewall or Barneval, who had been convicted of treasonable correspondence with the French, and enclosed proofs of his guilt. There is no reason to suppose that Severini, who had been raised to his position by the Government, was in any way disloyal to them or their interests. His fellow worker, Padre Renatus, did not accompany him to Pulicat; he remained at the Fort, and assumed the headship of the mission in accordance with the commission from the head of his order in France.

The rendition of Fort St. George and Madras to the English Company was arranged in the Peace of 1748, but it was not carried out until August 1749. During this period of delay both the Company and the local Government had under consideration how they should act towards the Roman Catholics and their property when the rendition took place. The Company had not decided in August 1749 either to confiscate their property or to expel them. Probably the loyal and correct action of Severini made them hesitate to adopt the extreme measures they had already ordered at Fort St. David. The advancement of Severini to the headship of the mission had insured his loyalty, as far as they could see. They therefore seemed to think it sufficient to keep the patronage in their own hands. They wrote[2]:—

'In case the French Capuchins of the province of Touraine should pretend to any right of presentation of Padres to the Romish Church at Madras, you are to stop such pretence,

[1] Fort St. David Consultations, Sept. 1748. Letter, 12 Oct. 1748.
[2] Despatch, 30 Aug. 1749, 35.

as our Governors have always done, they not having the least shadow of a right to it; and upon any vacancy you are to appoint the persons who are to officiate there.'

Locally the indubitable evidence of treachery created a strong opinion in favour of extreme measures; and the opinion was freely expressed along the Coast. Fabricius and Breithaupt, who had retired to Pulicat with some of their orphans and converts, wrote from that station in July 1749 to the Governor of Fort St. David, setting forth the pernicious consequences that might arise if the Roman Catholics were allowed to exercise their religion openly in Madras when it was again resettled; and requesting that they might have the Romish Churches delivered over to their care; by which if they were assisted by the Government, they would be able 'within a little time to furnish as many Protestant Topasses[1] as may be required, and keep them under a good divine instruction.'[2] The date of this letter is of interest; it was written two months before the local Government decided to adopt a policy of confiscation and partial expulsion. Perhaps Admiral Boscawen had been talking about it; perhaps it was a possible policy that was being discussed generally on the Coast including the Dutch and Danish settlements; perhaps it was their own idea of retributive justice against those who had been instrumental in destroying their own mission house, school, and chapel in the Black Town. At all events they suggested the transfer of the property to themselves in July 1749. In the previous January Fabricius, in writing his report to the S.P.C.K. for 1748 expressed hopes of an equitable restoration of past losses as soon as Fort St. George should revert to the English Company; and he mentioned that he had sent a petition to Admiral Boscawen and the Fort St. George Council on the subject.

The Admiral was invested with high powers. When he received back Fort St. George and Madras from the French in August 1749 he exerted his influence with the Coast Government to have the mission chapel at Vepery, together

[1] Gunners; they were almost exclusively Portuguese Eurasians. The writers were not Englishmen; their knowledge of English was not perfect.

[2] Fort St. David Consultations, July 1749.

with the mission house and garden attached to it, handed over to Fabricius and the S.P.C.K. mission. The Directors had already sent out orders for the confiscation of Romish Churches within their bounds. The only question that remained, therefore, was what should be done with the confiscated property.

The policy of expelling those Roman Catholics from Fort St. George who had been actually treacherous was carried out with as much haste as indignation; but the policy of expelling those who were not actually treacherous was carried out half-heartedly and in some cases with regret. The absence of the name of Padre Renatus in all documents and transactions after the rendition of the Fort attracts notice. Severini retired to Pulicat during the French occupation; Renatus remained; and in assuming the headship of the mission he acted in defiance of the Company's order. On the return of the English and of Severini to power he either retired to some other mission, or was expelled with others who acted as he did.

The names of the expelled were mentioned in one of the letters home[1]; they were described as those 'who went to, and have continued with the French since Madras was lost, and have incurred the directed confiscation.' Francis Barneval was expelled from Fort St. David in October 1748 and retired to Pondicherry. He was a son of Anthony Coyle de Barneval, who was born in the county of Clare, Ireland. Anthony was described in the lists of inhabitants of Fort St. George from 1724 to 1740 as a constant inhabitant; he was not in the Company's service; he was a licensed free merchant. In 1740 he died, and was described on his tombstone as a zealous Roman Catholic. His son Francis married a daughter of M. Dupleix, who was also a god-daughter of M. de la Bourdonnais. The Council sent home proof that Francis Barneval was involved in treasonable correspondence with his father-in-law. M. de la Mettrie, a French friend of Barneval's, was involved with him. M. Bailleau, another Frenchman, had been a constant inhabitant since 1724; his offence was that he wished to remain so, after the departure

[1] Letter, 5 July 1752, 48.

of the English. Francis Carvalho was a supracargo in the Company's service, but a Spanish subject belonging to Manilha. The Governor of Manilha pressed for compensation in his case; and the Council in writing home[1] recommended payment, since the sum demanded was too inconsiderable 'to be set in competition with Manilha trade, and the loss that will ensue to the Company's customs thereupon.' Other foreigners were also expelled; but some were permitted to remain; amongst these were Coja Petrus Uscan and Signora Madeiros on account of their past good conduct. Some of the expelled were guilty of treason, some were not. Padre Renatus may or may not have been guilty; there is no proof of his guilt now on record; but he certainly acted disloyally.

In 1753 Signora Madeiros sold her garden house to the Company for the small sum of 3500 pagodas,[2] perhaps in gratitude for the privilege of remaining; the house was bought for the use of the Governor in the place of the one destroyed by the French; the present Government House stands on the site of it.

It is pleasant to read that at the first meeting[3] of the Fort St. George Council after the rendition some consideration was shown for the feelings of the Roman Catholics who had not been treacherous. Padre Severini was permitted to take away the 'images and other appurtenances' of both the confiscated Churches—of St. Andrew's in the Fort, and of the smaller chapel in the village of Vepery; though he was not permitted to remove the bells and the candle branches. Those expelled were required to depart with their effects within a week; the sole exceptions were those of Coja Petrus Uscan and Signora Madeiros, who were permitted to remain for the reason given above.

Admiral Boscawen wrote to the Governor in September 1749[4] urging the wisdom and expediency of sending Padres Severini and Renatus, and the two free merchants De la Mettrie and Barneval to Europe; and of taking possession of St. Thoma in the name of the Nabob. The Government adopted the suggestion regarding St. Thoma; but contented

[1] Letter, 27 Oct. 1755, 75.
[2] Letter, 29 Oct. 1753, 78.
[3] On the 13th November 1749.
[4] Fort St. David Consultations, Sept. 1749.

themselves with expelling Barneval and De la Mettrie from their territory; and as they had to live somehow with a number of Eurasian and native Roman Catholics, they allowed Severini and Renatus to remain, and left them in possession of the Church in the Luce or Luz. They had to take into consideration that the Company's boatmen, who were of the Fisher caste and lived in the villages on the coast between Fort St. George and St. Thoma, were mostly Roman Catholics.

When the Fort St. David Council wrote to the Directors to inform them of the arrangements made they said[1]:—

'We have put into execution the Company's orders to expel Romish priests, and have given the Portuguese Church at Cuddalore to the Rev. Mr. Kiernander, missionary. We have given another Roman Catholic Church at a place called Vipary to others of the same mission, and to continue in possession till the Company's pleasure is known . . . . and to prevent Roman Catholics being again masters of such large possessions, we have established an order that none[2] shall be disposed of but to European Protestants.'

By the same ship Padre Severini wrote to the Directors informing them that the R.C. Churches and houses at Madras had been confiscated and given to the Danish Lutheran Missionaries; and that they themselves had been turned out of the White Town.[3]

As soon as the transfer of Viparee Church to the S.P.C.K. Missionaries was ordered Coja Petrus Uscan, an Armenian merchant, wrote the following protest[4]:—

'*To the Governor and Council of Fort St. George.*

'Sir and Sirs,

'I cannot help acquainting your Honour &c. of my great surprise to find that there is an Order of Council sent there some days ago to deliver up the Chapel and other buildings at Viparee to the Danish Missionaries, notwithstanding the

[1] Letter, 12 Feb. 1749–50, 74, 75.
[2] New grants of houses and lands.
[3] The letter was dated 10 Feb. 1749–50.
[4] Fort St. David Consultations, 1749.

remonstrance I have made by my letter to the Honourable Governor Floyer to the contrary; and to which, by the bye, his Honour has not vouchsafed me an answer hitherto. It will be a great satisfaction to me if your Honour will please to let me know by what Law or Authority you give away my property at pleasure. It may perhaps be imagined that I have made over Viparee Church etc. to the Romish Priests, and of consequence that it is their property; but I declare I have done no such thing. It was originally intended for the use of the poor beggars of Madras; and how your Government can alienate it to other purposes I must own I cannot conceive, as it cost me over 4000 pagodas, which if you shall please to order to be paid me here I am ready to deliver it up to the Danish Missionaries or whom else your Honour etc. thinks fit; but should your Honour etc. not think proper to do this, nor yet let it remain appropriated to the first use intended it, I in that case desire the favour that I may have the liberty to give it to the Priests of my own nation, who have had their Church rased to the ground by the French in our late calamity. I have no ill will to the Danish Missionaries, and have already wrote the Governor I am willing to contribute something towards the building a Church for them; but to let them have Viparee Church is what I can never consent to; and therefore I humbly desire your Honour etc. will not insist on it, upon consideration that the many troubles I have undergone was with hopes of reaping advantages with your nation, and not to be wronged of my right. Your doing me justice herein will greatly oblige, Honourable Sir and Sirs,

'Your Honour etc. most humble and
'most obedient servant
'PETRUS USCAN.'

This letter is entered in the Consultation Book; underneath it the record continues thus:—

'Which being duly considered, as it is observed that not only the gentlemen at Pondicherry in their letter term it the Capuchins' Chapel, but those Fathers in the petition they sent us a few days past express themselves as if they have some title to it; and as we have already acquainted the Honourable Company that we should deliver it to the Danish Missionaries; it is therefore Resolved that they be put in possession of it, till our Honourable masters favour us with their directions regarding it.'

We learn several interesting facts from this letter:—that Coja Petrus Uscan built the Viparee Church; that the building cost over 4000 pagodas; that after handing it over to the Capuchins he retained, or thought he retained, the ownership; and that the Armenian Church, built by the Company for the benefit of the Armenian settlers, was destroyed by the French.

In March 1749–50 occurs this entry in the Consultation Book of Fort St. David:—

'The President acquainted the Board that he had heard privately that the orders delivering Viparee Church to the Danish Missionaries had given great disgust to several inhabitants, especially the Armenians, for whose use we are told it was first intended. As this may prove detrimental to the Company's interest, and is so easily prevented, Agreed that it be kept empty till the Company's pleasure is known.

'The President also lays before the Board a letter from the Danish Missionaries representing their having been destitute of a place to officiate in ever since their arrival at Madras,[1] and requesting to have one appointed them, that they may be enabled to pursue the design for which they reside in India; Ordered therefore that in our next General Letter to Fort St. George the gentlemen there be directed to look out for, and to put them in possession of, any other place that may be convenient for them.'

The Capuchin Missionaries made no protest to the Government on being dispossessed of their property and privileges; but they wrote to the Governor and Council at Fort St. David, as soon as the order was passed, informing them that they had vacated their Church and house at Viparee, and petitioning that they might be allowed to remain near it, where the Churchyard is situated; and for the exercise of their religion towards those of their communion as hitherto.[2] The Council resolved,

'as the papers found at the house of Padre Antonio of Purification at St. Thoma were evident proofs of their having a firmer regard for our interest than that of the French,—and

[1] The letter is entered in the Consultation Book; the Missionaries, Fabricius and Breithaupt, said 'some months since,' not 'ever since etc.'

[2] Fort St. David Consultations, Dec. 1749.

as our boat people, who are of that communion, may probably be induced to leave us should we expel them our limits,—to comply with their request, and that the Romish Church situated at Mile End [1] be delivered over to them.'

In the middle of the year 1750 the Directors received the February letters from the Coast explaining all that had been done as to the Churches and the private property of the Roman Catholic priests and others. With regard to the latter they were not quite certain about the justice of what had been done; so they wrote [2]:—

'It is the custom in Europe to suffer the inhabitants to enjoy their properties upon the restoration of a place taken by an enemy, (notwithstanding they have continued to reside in such a place under their protection) unless they have by any overt acts discovered themselves to be enemies to their first masters'; etc.

As for the confiscations of the Churches they appear to have waited for the return of Admiral Boscawen before declaring themselves. Having seen him and heard his views they were quite decided in the adoption of his policy; and they wrote to Fort St. David [3]:—

'The situation of a Roman Catholic Church in the very heart of our settlement has been very injurious to us; and if continued will be attended with many inconveniences so obvious that there is no occasion to mention them; you are therefore immediately on the receipt of this, without fail, to demolish the Portuguese Church in the White Town at Madras; and not suffer it to stand on pretence of settling the Danish missionaries in it, its usefulness for warehouses, storehouses, or any other purposes whatsoever.'

And they added:—

'You must give all encouragement to the Danish missionaries, that they may be active in the duty of propagating the Protestant religion among the natives and others residing under our protection.'

[1] The Fishermen's Church, one mile south of Fort St. George. The petition was signed by Severini and Bernard.

[2] Despatch, 23 Jan. 1750–1, 54.

[3] Do. 23 Aug. 1751.

Upon receipt of this despatch arrangements were made for the demolition of St. Andrew's. But before demolishing the building the Governor in Council decreed that as many persons had been buried in the Portuguese Church, whose bodies in demolishing it might be exposed; and as it was expedient to prevent this and to preserve as great a decency in regard thereto as may be, permission should be given to their being removed by such of their relations and friends as should be inclined to do it.[1]

The protest of Peter Uscan in 1749 revealed the fact that he was a Roman Catholic, and that there were other Armenians of that faith as well. On the ground that there might be just as much danger in allowing Armenians to reside in the White Town as there had been in allowing the French and Portuguese, they also were expelled from Fort St. George and prevented from owning house property within its walls.[1] In compensation the Government granted them sites to build their houses on. These sites were northward of the Fort, beyond the cleared space, and sufficiently far away from the fortifications not to interfere with the new plan of defence.

Soon after these arrangements were made Fort St. George again became the seat of Government; and the Governor was able to see for himself what had been done. He reported to the Directors[2] that the Portuguese Church as ordered was pulled down; and he added the opinion of himself and his colleagues that an allowance for the materials to the former owners would not be of ill consequence. He mentioned that there were some military officers unprovided with apartments; and that there were several houses standing in the Square 'which adjoined to that Church,' which would with some alterations be very convenient for them. And he further said that the Danish Missionaries should have the Church at Viparee, and at the proper time be shown the generous indulgence offered.

A great storm took place at the end of October in that year, which damaged the temporary premises occupied by the S.P.C.K. Missionaries. They therefore petitioned the

[1] Consultations, April 1752. [2] Letter, 5 July 1752, 46, 47.

Government[1] to be put in possession of the Romish Church at Viparee. It was agreed that the said Church and appurtenances should be delivered over to them for the use of the Protestant mission, and that the sum of 500 pagodas should also be given them agreeable to the permission etc.—ordered by the Directors.

These letters and proceedings enable us to know exactly when the S.P.C.K. Missionaries were put in possession of their new Church.

In the preceding January Coja Petrus Uscan died, and left his interest in Viparee Church to Padre Severini. By his own desire he was buried within the walls of the Church he had built. As soon as the Government gave possession of the Church to the S.P.C.K. Missionaries the executors of his will protested against the act. The protest was entered in the Consultation Book, and the Council wrote home for instructions without making any comment on the facts or the justice of the case. The Directors replied in their next despatch[2]:—

'You acquaint us that on putting into execution our orders to deliver the Church at Viparee to the Danish Missionaries the executors of Coja Petrus delivered in a remonstrance and protest which are entered on your Consultations. You should have made an enquiry into the allegations of the said executors, and given us your opinion thereupon, that we might be able to form a judgement whether they have a right to any and what relief; and you are hereby directed to make such an enquiry, and to send us your opinion by the first opportunity.'

The question of compensation for the confiscation of the two Churches was thus fairly launched. As to St. Andrew's the Directors replied to the letter of the 5th July 1752 in the following January.[3] They said:—

'The materials of the demolished Portuguese Church are to be sold and brought to our credit. The Square adjoining to it, which you say with some alterations may be made very convenient for the military officers, we had no intentions

[1] Consultations, 6 Nov. 1752. Letter, 3 Nov. 1752, 43.
[2] Despatch, 23 Jan. 1753-4, 48. [3] Do. 24 Jan. 1752-3, 55, 56.

should be demolished, therefore you are to make use of it for the military officers or any other purposes you think proper. With regard to your opinion that if a gratification was made for the said Church and Square it would be of no ill consequence, we cannot give any directions until you inform us what are the pretensions thereto, and by whom, and whether they are reasonable.'

In the following October the Governor and Council replied to this[1] that the Portuguese Church cost 35000 pagodas; that any gratification to be made for it would properly belong to Padre Severini; that part of the materials had been used and part sold; and that their amount on a just calculation had been brought to the credit of the Church.[2]

It is evident from the records that local sympathy was more with than against the Roman Catholics. In 1753 Padres Severini and Bernard wrote to the Governor and represented[3] (1) that having no salary allowed for their subsistence the Company used to give them every year as a charity 'one garce of paddy and four pieces of cloth for cloathes'; they asked for a continuation of the gift; (2) that as the Company had taken from them their Church and habitations at Madras, so that they and the Roman Catholic Christians were left without any Church or means of building one, they needed a grant of money; (3) that they being old and unable to perform all their duties punctually required a colleague; they asked permission to recall a Piedmontese who had assisted them during the war.

The Council granted the first request; but could not grant the others without reference to the Directors.

On the receipt of the Despatch of January 1753-4 the Council made further enquiries about the Viparee Church. They examined[4] the will of Petrus Uscan, and came to the conclusion that the Viparee Church belonged to him, and that he left it by will to Severini. They reported[5] to the Directors that the claim of the executors seemed to be just; and they enclosed

[1] Letter, 29 Oct. 1753, 76.

[2] This must mean to the credit of the demolished Church; and that they were keeping the sale price of the materials till they had further orders for its disposal.

[3] Consultations, Aug. 1753. [4] Do. Sept. 1754. [5] Letter, 10 Nov. 1754, 123.

extracts from the will and other papers connected with the case.

Before this letter arrived in London, the Court of Directors wrote [1] again on the same subject :—

" 'You inform us that if any gratification is made for the Portuguese Church which was demolished by our orders, you conceive it should be to Padre Severini, who has the management of the Religious Fund, and you transmit to us a petition [2] of the same person praying the restitution of the Chapel at Viparee, which was given by our orders to the Danish Missionaries; we very well know that orders were given as before mentioned; but it is impossible for us from any thing we have hitherto seen to form any judgement whether the said Padre Severini or any other persons have any right to those places. You are therefore, if any further applications are made to you thereupon, to make a strict enquiry into the same, and clearly and fully state all circumstances together with your opinion upon the whole; upon the receipt of which we shall give you our sentiments and directions.'

This despatch reached Fort St. George in August 1755. The Governor and Council at once set to work to collect the information required by the Directors. They replied at some length [3] in October. With regard to Viparee Church they said that Padre Severini's pretensions were founded entirely on the will of Coja Petrus Uscan. They gave no further opinion whether they considered the claim good or otherwise; they probably thought that the question was one for the Law Courts; and that if the evidence was clear that the Church was built by and belonged to Petrus Uscan, and that it was within his power to leave it by will to whom he pleased, the case would be brought into the Courts. As to St. Andrew's they said :—

'The Portuguese Church in the White Town was built by subscription of the Roman Catholics; it was rebuilt by the Romish padres in 1721 by contribution of the inhabitants of that persuasion, and kept in repair under the management of the Capuchin fathers till demolished; no legal claim [4] can hardly be made thereto.'

[1] Despatch, 31 Jan. 1755, 41.
[2] This has not been preserved.
[3] Letter, 27 Oct. 1755, 74.
[4] That is by Padre Severini.

Before this letter was received in London the Directors wrote to Madras on the subject of compensation to those whose house property had been confiscated in the Fort. The Council had taken possession of several houses. Barneval's house in Choultry Gate Street was used for stores on the ground floor and for visitors above. In 1754 the house required repair; Barneval asked for the cost of the repair; this was granted; but it was resolved to charge rent to reimburse the outlay.[1] Matters could not be left in this undecided and indefinite way any longer; so the Council asked for orders; and the Directors wrote[2]:—

'We leave it entirely to you to make such recompense or allowances to the owners of all or any of the houses which were confiscated upon your taking possession again of Fort St. George after the capture thereof by the French, as shall according to the best of your judgement be deemed just and equitable; and you are to give us a particular account of your proceedings herein.'

As soon as this despatch arrived, giving them a free hand to do what they considered just and right, the Council resolved to restore the houses to the owners; but they added the condition that the properties must be at once sold to European Protestants residing in the Fort.[3]

The Directors did not leave the question of compensation for the confiscated Churches to be settled locally. They received the full information they required about them in the Fort St. George letter of October 1755 which arrived in London in March 1756. The important events which were then occurring in Bengal obliged them to postpone a reply; and when the reply was given[4] a year later they had come to no decision. They said:—

'The pretensions of Padre Severini to the Church at Viparee, the circumstances of the late Portuguese Church in the White Town demolished by our directions, as likewise what relates to the claims for restitution of the confiscated houses at Fort St. George, mentioned in your general letter

[1] Consultations, Sept. 1754. [2] Despatch, 19 Dec. 1755, 68.
[3] Consultations, July 1756, and Letter, 31 May 1763, 60.
[4] Despatch, 25 March 1757, 54.

dated the 27th of October 1755, cannot in the present situation of affairs be taken under consideration; our directions thereafter must therefore necessarily be deferred until more favourable times and circumstances of the Company.'

The door was thus left open for future appeals and representations.

At the end of 1752 the Roman Catholics had only a Church in the Luz and one for the Fishermen caste at Mile End. They applied to the Governor in 1754 for permission to build a Church in the Black Town—the new Black Town—on ground used by the mission as a cemetery. The application was refused,[1] not out of ill will but because of the indecency of the proposal; but a site was given them near to their burial place, and they erected a Church on it before the French made their second appearance in 1758.

The Company, acting on the conviction that the loss of Fort St. George in 1746 was largely due to the presence in the Fort of so many Roman Catholics, determined to try and rid themselves of the difficulty by employing only Protestant soldiers. They had the greatest difficulty in raising the necessary number in England; for all the men capable of soldiering were wanted for that purpose in Europe. They therefore enlisted men in Switzerland and Germany. In Dec. 1751 they sent out 230 Swiss for the infantry, and in December 1752 they sent out 120 more; and 60 Protestant Germans for the Artillery. Barracks were ordered to be built for them in December 1751. When the first drafts arrived they found that many of the men were Roman Catholics. The Council wrote to the Directors[2] complaining of this, and added that 13 had deserted, and that they expected more would. They also wrote on the 12 Feb. 1753 that the Swiss soldiers who had been sent to Bengal were deserting, and that they had ordered them to Fort St. George; and they wrote again on the 21st March 1753 that the Swiss soldiers under Captain Polier had arrived from Bengal and had been sent to Fort St. David. In the same letter they reported that Dupleix had seized and was detaining a Company of Swiss as

[1] Consultations, Sept. 1754.
[2] Letter, 5 July 1752, 69, and Despatch, 24 Jan. 1752–3, 99.

prisoners contrary to treaty and to the law of nations. So that, although the Swiss soldiers were reported by Captain Clive to have behaved very gallantly in action with the French,[1] they gave the Company's officers a good deal of trouble, and were not enlisted after 1754.[2] The enlistment of Germans, especially Hanoverians, went on, however, until the end of the century. The real solution of the Company's difficulty was the employment of the King's regiments in India, the first of which, the 39th Foot,[3] arrived at Fort St. George in 1754.

No record has been found as to the exact date when the Roman Catholics and Armenians rebuilt their Churches in the Black Town; but they were rebuilt before the siege of the Fort in 1758 by General Count Lally. During those three months' siege the buildings used as a hospital on the site of the present General Hospital were greatly injured; it was necessary after the siege was raised to take some other buildings for hospital purposes. The buildings taken were the Roman Catholic and Armenian Churches in Mootal Pettah, the portion of Black Town NNW of the Fort. In 1762 two petitions were submitted to the President in Council, one from Father Severini, Superior of the Capuchins, and the other from Padre Arathoon, of the Armenian Church, praying for the restoration of their Churches.[4] Since there were no other buildings equally convenient, the Government decided to retain the use of them, but to pay a rent of 15 pagodas monthly for each of them during occupation. By degrees the General Hospital was built and came into use. The Armenian Church was restored in Feb. 1764; the Roman Catholic Church continued to be used as a hospital until 1772.

In 1763 Father Severini died. He had been Superior of the Capuchins for nearly 20 years, and had been throughout faithful to the Fort St. George Government. His death made it necessary for the Council to appoint a new Superior. According to the wording in the Consultation book,[5] they set themselves to appoint a 'Superior of the Romish Church at

[1] Letter, 3 Nov. 1752, 42.
[2] Wilson's *History of the Madras Army*, ed. 1882, page 63, vol. i.
[3] The Dorsetshire Regiment: 'primus in Indis.'
[4] Consultations, 7 Sept. 1762.
[5] Do. 27 Sept. 1763.

Madras.' The Rev. Father Stanton [1] being esteemed a quiet and well disposed man, was recommended by the President to the Council 'as the properest person among the Romish priests to supply the place.' He was accordingly appointed. And the Council ordered that an instrument of appointment be drawn out in the same form as that granted to Padre Severini in 1743–4; that this 'our instrument of induction' be delivered to Father Stanton by the Secretary; and that the Secretary be instructed to attend the Roman Catholic Chapel at the time of the induction to hear the instrument read both in Latin and Portuguese.[2]

It so happened that Father Stanton was a Dominican; the Capuchin community could not recognise him as their Superior; they would not help him; and so he was obliged to resign the appointment. He was succeeded by Father Bernard. Father Stanton was the third Englishman known to have been doing mission work in India. The fact of his not being a Capuchin was [illegible] enough to make it impossible for him to be the head of a Capuchin community; but it was further urged against him that he had not studied the country languages, and was therefore comparatively useless at a place like Madras.

It will be remembered that the Jesuits in China held a Company's bond for 20,000 pagodas, of which the Jesuits could not demand the repayment, but which the Company could pay off when they pleased. In 1755 the Madras Government gave notice of their intention to pay it off. The notice was met by a protest from the Missionaries, who also wrote to the Directors to inform them that the bond was irredeemable. In the meantime the troubles in Bengal occurred, and the money was required; so a notice was sent that it would not be paid off at once. The Directors wrote [3]:—

'The China Jesuits have made representations to us as well as to you against paying off the old Madras bond for 20000 pagodas, which was given at the rate of 6 per cent. But as we do not see any reason to suppose it irredeemable,

[1] In the records the name is sometimes given as Staunton.

[2] Consultations, 11 Oct. 1763.

[3] Despatch, 11 Nov. 1757, 97.

as they alledge, we approve of your determination to have paid it off had circumstances permitted; and we direct that you discharge it whenever you find the most convenient opportunity.'

The Jesuit Superior at Pondicherry was the agent of the China Jesuits for receiving the half yearly interest. On the capture of Pondicherry in 1761 the Jesuits were dispersed and the interest remained unclaimed for three years. At the end of that time the Superior of the Jesuits at St. Thoma requested that payment might be made to him. The Government replied that he must first produce his authority to receive payment.[1] After a further delay of three years he did so; and the interest was paid.[2]

[1] Consultations, 7 Feb. 1764. [2] Do. 24 April 1767.

CHAPTER XVI

THE PERIOD OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE HONOURABLE COMPANY AS A GOVERNING POWER, 1761–1784

The fall of Pondicherry in 1761, like the siege of Fort St. George in 1758–9, was only one of the early incidents in the struggle for possession and power which engrossed the attention of the next generation of civilians and soldiers in the south of India. The Portuguese had long before given up the contest. The Dutch were dropping out of it. There remained the French and the English only of the various contending European powers. But at this period of contention there were also three native powers, whose military strength had to be reckoned with: the Moghul Kingdom of the Nizam, the Hindu nation of the Mahrattas, and the military despotism of Mysore, a Hindu nation coerced and led by a Mahommedan soldier of fortune.

The political necessity of taking an active part in the contest was plain enough to the Directors of the Company and to the Government of Great Britain. This necessity resulted in as complete a change in the character and method of the local Government as in the society and mode of life of the Company's settlements. Up to this time the society, the occupation, and the very air of Fort St. George had been largely commercial, and only slightly military and political. The forty years that followed the siege of Fort St. George and the fall of Pondicherry were mostly taken up with political and military affairs and were only slightly commercial. The arrival of the 79th, 84th, 89th and 96th Regiments of the Line at Fort St. George completely altered the tone, the character, and the social life of the place.

Barracks had to be built. The Governor and Council of Fort St. George put up temporary barracks at Vepery, St.

Thomas' Mount, and Pallaveram; the Nabob, grateful for the protection afforded him by British soldiers, built barracks for them at Poonamallee and Chingleput.[1] Hospital accommodation had to be increased; and within a short time a new General Hospital was built for the accommodation of 600 men and 20 officers.[2] An Arsenal had to be provided for the making and repair of military stores and requirements.[3] The fortifications at Cuddalore,[4] Masulipatam,[5] Madras[6] town, as well as at Fort St. George[7] itself, had to be strengthened and put in order. Garrisons had to be provided with accommodation at the frontier stations of Ellore, Arcot and Vellore, as well as at the Forts and fortified towns of Trichinopoly, Tanjore, Cuddalore, and the open camps at St. Thomas' Mount and Poonamallee. The troops at all these places had to be fed. All the building and feeding was done by Contracts, which were taken up by the Company's servants. Contracting for building, feeding and providing transport for a moving force was more profitable than attendance at the Company's offices and go-downs. It is not surprising that the Directors complained[8] that their covenanted servants were neglecting trade—'the most honourable way of making fortunes'—and were making a profit out of war by means of contracts.

The Directors appear to have supposed that the despatch of all the British troops to the Coromandel Coast was intended for defensive purposes only. They did not seem to have realised that generally the best defence is an offensive movement. They saw with alarm the extension of their territory. In 1769 they censured[9] Governor Charles Bourchier and his Council for 'extending our influence and possessions beyond the line,' and they called upon the Governor to resign on the 1st January 1770. Still the territory grew. Trichinopoly remained to them after the first war with the French. Masulipatam and Madura were taken in 1763; the Northern Circars were ceded by the Nizam in 1766; the Nabob gave

[1] Letters dated 14 Oct. 1765, para. 62; and 4 Nov. 1767, para. 24.
[2] Letter, 2 April 1771, and Despatch, 10 April 1771, para. 34.
[3] Letters and Consultations, 1772. Originally known as Call's Laboratory; Desp. 4 Mar. 1767, para. 31.
[4] Letter, 27 March 1765, para. 36.
[5] Letter, 1 April, 1766.
[6] Letter, 31 Jan. 1770, para. 84.
[7] Letter, 29 Jan. 1773.
[8] Despatch, 17 March 1769, para. 44.
[9] Do. do. para. 41.

up Chingleput to the Company for the support of the British troops; Ramnad was taken 1772; Tanjore and Palamcottah 1776; the Dutch possessions were taken in 1781. No attempt was made to rule these new possessions as we understand rule in the 20th century. They were in military occupation; all owners of property paid rent to the Government of Fort St. George; but the conquered districts, towns, and villages ruled themselves. The Company's servants spent as much time (if not more) over the settlement and collection of the revenues of the new districts as they did over the Company's trade. The coming of the British troops and the acquisition of new territories changed their occupation as well as their status and mode of life.

It was impossible that there should not have been misunderstandings and disputes between the Civil Government and the military authorities. They began when the King's troops first landed at Fort St. George. The King's officers did not understand the position of the Governor as Commander-in-Chief. More than once during this period the Directors, assisted by the British Government, upheld the authority of the Civil power at Fort St. George. In 1766 they wrote[1]: 'The Civil power in all our settlements shall be superior to and command the military.' Generals Sir Robert Fletcher, and Sir John Burgoyne, Bart., Admirals Sir Robert Harland and Sir John Lindsay were amongst those who by insubordination made government difficult for the merchant Governors. Sir Eyre Coote himself disputed with Lord Macartney, who was not a merchant Governor, but the first of a long line of politicians, specially chosen for political ability to preside over the Civil and Military affairs of the Presidency. The military and civil disputes of the period were part of the new condition of existence on the Coast; and they largely helped to make this period different from any that had gone before it.

This period is also answerable for two changes of less importance. The Fort in the town of Mylapore which the Portuguese called St. Thoma, and which was called St. Thoma by the English merchants up to the middle of the 18th

[1] Despatch, 19 Feb. 1766, para. 24.

century commenced to be written St. Thomé. This was probably due to the arrival there of French in the place of Portuguese Jesuits. The Portuguese called the place St. Thoma (*a* as in *ar*). The English called it St. Thoma (*a* as in *way*). The French seem to have pronounced the word like the English, and written it as they pronounced it, St. Thomé. The other change was in the name of the Company's settlement itself. The Fort in which the Europeans lived had been known for over 100 years as Fort St. George or as White Town; and the native town outside it had been known as Madraspatam or as Black Town. At an early period, even in the times of Fryer and Lockyer, there was an overflow from the Fort to garden houses in the vicinity. At this period there was a considerable exodus. People could hardly describe themselves as living in Fort St. George, when they were actually living in garden houses one or two or even three miles from it. A new term for the settlement as a whole was necessary for ordinary writing and conversational use—a term which would include the whole habitable area, White Town, Black Town, and the surrounding villages where the garden houses mostly were. The word Madras was fixed upon, and has been used ever since. The official designation of the Governor remains the same as in past days; His Excellency is the Governor of Fort St. George and its dependencies; the members of Council are officially the members of the Council of Fort St. George; but the newer officials, whose offices have been created since the middle of the 18th century, like the Chief Justice and the Bishop and Lieutenant General, are officials of Madras. It is not unlikely that the desire and love of brevity had also something to do with the change that took place.

Of all the regiments which have been mentioned only one is known to have brought a Chaplain. The 79th Regiment brought the Rev. Charles Griffiths, who in 1762 entered the Company's service, and was stationed at Fort St. George. The 73rd Regt., commanded by John Mackenzie, Lord Macleod, went out to Fort St. George in 1778[1] with a strength of 1169, including a Chaplain. But his name is not given;

[1] Despatch, 23 Dec. 1778.

and as a matter of fact no Chaplain went with the regiment. The 78th Regiment, commanded by the Earl of Seaforth, went out in 1781 [1] with a strength of 1168, including a Chaplain. His name is given as William Mackenzie; but there is no evidence that he went. There is an entry in the old Trichinopoly register book in 1784 (Burials) which shows that the Rev. Mr. 'Macay' was Chaplain of the 78th Regt. at St. Thoma in 1783. In 1782 went the 101st and the 102nd Regiments, the 15th and 16th Hanoverians, and the 23rd Light Dragoons.[2] But no Chaplain went with any of these regiments. The four last mentioned infantry regiments did not stay very long. They were sent out because [3] of 'France's vigorous preparations for India.' They were recalled in 1783 after the Treaty of Versailles with France and Spain, and the Peace of Paris with the Dutch.

Under the Rules which they made in the reign of Governor Master the Directors had two Chaplains on their Fort St. George establishment, one of whom paid occasional visits to subordinate factories. Although the British population on the coast was at this period so largely increased by the arrival of naval and military forces no Chaplain was added by the Directors to the establishment until 1796. Sir Eyre Coote K.B. had a Chaplain on his staff, the Rev. Westrow Hulse. His Excellency declined to go out to India when he was appointed Commander-in-Chief in 1778 without one. The Directors therefore appointed Mr. Hulse 'to be Chaplain to the 1st Brigade of our troops in Bengal, with the usual allowances and emoluments annexed to that station, and he is to attend the General whenever he shall think fit.' [4] But no arrangement was made for the spiritual charge—the baptism, marriage or burial, let alone the teaching and the exhortation—of the large number of British troops in the pay of the Company, and their families, between 1760 and 1796. It is in many respects a dark period in the history of the Presidency: not only the ecclesiastical history, but the social history too. Thousands of vigorous full blooded young men

[1] Despatch, 31 May 1781.

[2] Afterwards the 19th Hussars; among the Cavalry regiments 'primus in Indis.'

[3] Despatch, 25 Jan. 1782, paras. 58-61.

[4] Do. 7 May 1778, para. 16.

were exported to a country where vice is cheap and alcohol untaxed, without a religious guide to warn them of their dangers, and to remind them of God's laws and their own Christian duty. But the period would have been much darker if it had not been for the use made of the S.P.C.K. Missionaries by the Governor and Council of Fort St. George. Christian Schwartz accompanied the army as Chaplain to the siege of Madura in 1763–4; to the sieges of Tanjore in 1771 and 1773; he officiated as Chaplain to the troops and the English residents at Trichinopoly from 1764 to 1778; and to the troops and the English residents at Tanjore from 1778 to 1798. For this service he was paid £100 a year by the Madras Government in addition to his pay as a Missionary of the S.P.C.K. When he left Trichinopoly in 1778, his work and pay as the Garrison Chaplain were continued[1] to his successor Christian Pohle till his death in 1817. At Cuddalore Kiernander and his successors Hutteman, Gericke and Holtzberg officiated as Chaplains to the English community, and were paid by the Madras Government for doing so. The Vepery Missionaries Fabricius, Gericke, and Paezold regularly ministered to the Europeans, both civil and military, at all stations which they visited in their missionary capacity. Negapatam, Vellore, Arcot, Pulicat all profited from their ministrations. All the British and German exiles on the Coast were alike saved from the consequences of the Directors' neglect by the ministrations of these faithful and self-denying men. By the terms of the charter of 1698 under which the United Company had all its rights and privileges, there was an obligation on the part of the Company to appoint Chaplains and schoolmasters to each of its superior factories and garrisons, and to each of its ships over 500 tons burthen. For sixty years it evaded its obligations at sea by chartering ships of 499 tons burthen only. And for nearly one hundred years it evaded its obligations on land.

It is quite a mistake to suppose that the Directors were opposed to mission work in the 18th century, and that they prevented Missionaries from gaining access to the country. They both carried them there and employed them.

[1] Consultations, 29 Aug. 1779.

Primarily the employment of the S.P.C.K. Missionaries to work in garrisons was a local device to get the work done, which it was locally felt ought to be done. It is probable that at first the Directors were not aware that it was being done in that manner. But this ignorance could not have lasted very long. The S.P.C.K. in London knew, and was in regular communication with the Company in Leadenhall Street. The Missionaries themselves were well educated graduates and exceptionally earnest men; they were well versed in the knowledge of the English language; they were loyal to all the authorities; and there was no complaint from any garrison that they did not minister acceptably.

There was one other important factor in the great change that Fort St. George was undergoing at this period, and that was the presence in the roads of a fleet of the King's Navy. This necessitated a naval hospital ashore, as well as houses for the Admiral and some of the senior officers—in short more buildings, more contracts for housing, feeding, and clothing, more work for the covenanted servants of the Company, and more duty in Church and Cemetery for the Company's Chaplains. The difference between Fort St. George and its dependencies in 1761 and 1784 was immense; it was the difference between a village and a town.

When Robert Palk went home in 1758 there was only one Chaplain left in the Fort, Samuel Staveley; but Admiral Stevens brought a Chaplain Samuel Merefield with him on board the flag ship, who applied to the Governor and Council for employment ashore. Being well recommended by the Admiral he was entertained. The Council wrote to the Directors [1] and announced the appointment; and the Directors in their reply sanctioned it.[2]

In 1762 Samuel Staveley went to Fort William, leaving Merefield to conduct all the various duties of the Chaplain at Fort St. George by himself. The 79th Regiment had however brought a Chaplain, Charles Griffiths, who at once applied to be appointed to the vacancy. The Governor and Council appointed Mr. Griffiths until the pleasure of the Directors was

[1] Letter, 18 Aug. 1759, para. 101. [2] Despatch, 23 Nov. 1759, para. 68.

known, and wrote [1] asking them to confirm the appointment. In the same letter they passed on a request from the Minister and Churchwardens for a supply of Divinity books for the Library, enclosing a list. The Directors sanctioned the appointment and sent the books.[2] In September 1763 Samuel Merefield asked permission to return to Europe with Admiral Cornish on account of his health.[3] Permission was given, and the Council in their next letter home announced his departure.[4]

Whilst Merefield and Griffiths were Chaplains at Fort St. George in 1762 two incidents occurred which throw a side light on the history of the time. The Rev. Mr. Coxeter had come out in the Company's service and brought his family with him. He was not on the Madras establishment; but in this year, owing to some cause which does not appear, he arrived at Fort St. George in a destitute condition. The Governor gave him a passage home in one of the Company's ships, and paid from the Treasury 200 pagodas for the purchase of provisions on the voyage. On reporting the matter to the Directors they did not object [5]—'we observe that you have paid 200 pagodas for the passage of Mr. Coxeter and family, which we shall not object to in this case on account of his function' —but they forbade it being done in future 'without an absolute necessity.' They did not consider themselves under any obligation to pay the expenses of the voyage home of their unsuccessful servants.

In the same year the Rev. Mr. Fabricius was allowed to purchase [6] a pipe of the Company's Madeira at the price charged to the Company's servants. Quite apart from such questions as to whether a Missionary ought to drink Madeira, or whether he ought to spend as much as £40 over laying in a stock of it, the incident is a sign of the good will of the local Government towards the Missionary.

Charles Griffiths was the only Chaplain at Fort St. George

[1] Letter, 17 April 1762, para. 53.

[2] Despatch, 9 March, 1763, paras 62, 63. In the letter home and in the Despatch to Madras he is described as Samuel Griffiths; in the Vestry Minute Book he wrote his name Charles.

[3] Consultation Book, 20 Sept. 1763.

[4] Letter, 7 Nov. 1763, para. 38.

[5] Despatch, 9 March 1763.

[6] Consultations, 9 Aug. 1762.

during 1764 and half of 1765; but he was not without help; for one of the Calcutta Chaplains, Furnival Bowen, came to Fort St. George at the beginning of 1764 for the benefit of his health, and assisted Griffiths until his departure home in one of the August ships. In return for his welcome help the Fort St. George Council agreed to pay him both the salary and allowances of a Chaplain during his stay.[1]

The Directors appointed the Rev. Mr. John Thomas, 'a gentleman well recommended to us' to succeed Mr. Merefield at Fort St. George.[2] He arrived in the middle of November 1765. Before his arrival, and whilst Griffiths had an undivided responsibility on his shoulders, two important matters were taken up by the Vestry. Andrew Ross, a former Mayor and Sheriff, was one of the Churchwardens. He proposed that the practice of inoculation, which had not hitherto been used in the settlement, should be introduced by getting the children of the Charity School inoculated. The proposal produced a lengthy discussion. Governor Palk, General Lawrence, several covenanted servants of the Company, and a few free merchants like Andrew Ross himself, were present. Eventually the Vestry,[3]

> 'upon consideration of the happy success inoculation has everywhere met with, the many lives it has providentially been the means of preserving, and the general observation that the best sort of small pox is thereby produced, the danger next to none, and the recovery easy, it is agreed to desire the surgeons who attend the Hospital, when the season is most proper, to inoculate such of the Charity children as have not yet had the small pox.'

A year later the Vestry began to feel the social pressure of the new conditions of life in the Presidency. The military operations of 1761 and 1762, which effected the capture of Pondicherry, Karical, Vellore, Nellore, Gingee and several other forts held by the French; the Manilla expedition under Brig. Gen. Draper in 1762; the explosion of a magazine at Trichinopoly Fort in the same year; the siege of Madura in 1763 and 1764, and the Polygar war of the latter year—

[1] Consultations, 7 June 1764. For an account of this Chaplain see Hyde's *Parochial Annals of Bengal*, p. 132.

[2] Despatch, 15 Feb. 1765, para. 12.

[3] Vestry Minutes, Jan. 1764.

largely increased the number of widows and orphans to be provided for by the Church Stock. Besides this, there was an ever increasing number of British Eurasian children to be assisted and educated. In 1762 the following were the military stations and the strength of the garrisons :—

(1) Fort St. George.—Three companies H.M. 79th, Fifty artillerymen, one Company French volunteers, two battalions of Sepoys.

(2) Vellore.—Three companies of European infantry, thirty-six artillerymen and one hundred lascars, one battalion of Sepoys.

There were 500 French prisoners in the Fort.

(3) Cuddalore.—Three companies of European infantry, thirty-six artillerymen and one hundred lascars, one battalion of Sepoys, two companies of Caffres, two troops of English cavalry and one troop of French Hussars.

(4) Trichinopoly.—Three companies of European infantry, thirty-six artillerymen and one hundred lascars, two battalions of Sepoys.

There were 500 French prisoners in the Fort.

A treaty was signed with France and Spain in 1763; and in the following year the 79th, 84th, 89th and 96th Regiments returned to England. But volunteers were left behind from each regiment for the Company's service amounting in all to 25 Sergeants and 545 men. At the end of 1764 the Company had in its own service three battalions of Europeans and three Artillery companies. These were spread about in this way :—

Fort St. George.—Six companies of European infantry, and one company of artillery.

Nellore, Ongole, Masulipatam and Rajahmundry.—Three companies of European infantry, and one company of artillery.

Vellore.—2nd Battalion of European infantry, three companies of the 3rd Battalion, and a quarter company of artillery.

Trichinopoly.—Three companies of the 3rd Battalion of European infantry, and a quarter company of artillery.

Madura and Palamcottah.—Three companies of the 3rd Battalion of European infantry, and a half company of artillery.

In January 1765 the Minister and Churchwardens laid before the Vestry the accounts and represented the necessity of increasing the income of the Fund to meet all the charges on it—there being so many military widows and military orphans to provide for. They asked Governor Palk to assist them in the advantageous investment of their fund, which he promised to do. They also asked him to use his influence to pass an order for the payment of the double boat hire on Sundays by all ships without exception; they wrote this letter to the Government[1]:—

'At a Vestry held lately the Minister and Churchwardens represented that the fund of the extra pay for boats employed on the Sunday (which was intended as an addition to the Charity Stock of the Parish . . . .) did produce but a very small assistance to the poor, now become more numerous by the increase of inhabitants, by reason that this charge has hitherto been levied upon private people only; but on consideration taken by the Vèstry that the order for levying this charge seemed to be originally intended for all Sabbath Day boat services, ... it was agreed that it should be submitted to the consideration of your Honour etc., whether it was not reasonable that the service of His Majesty, and that of the Hon. Company, as well as that of private persons, should by this means contribute to the relief of the Poor in general, ... The Minister and Churchwardens do now therefore request that this charge may for the future be levied on all boats employed on the Sunday without distinction.'

The letter was read, and the following resolution passed:—

'Agreed that the extraordinary pay exacted for boats employed on Sundays be levied without distinction as requested for the use of the Church, as their charitable expenses are very numerous, and the charges exceed their annual income; it is but reasonable the Public should contribute to the Church Stock as well as private people; as the said Stock provides diet, clothes and education for the children of the military as well as many distressed families.'

The general result was that the income was increased, and the Vestry was able to continue its good work. Besides making allowances to poor widows, and keeping a school in

[1] Consultations, 25 Feb. 1765.

the Fort for 50 orphan and deserted boys, the Vestry supported a certain number of Eurasian orphan girls in the Vepery school; for the Vepery Missionaries had schools for Eurasians as well as for natives. Up to 1765 the Vestry paid to Fabricius, the Missionary in charge, $1\frac{1}{2}$ pagodas a month for each girl they nominated. In 1765 this was increased to $1\frac{3}{4}$ pagodas; and later on to 2 pagodas. Amongst these girls were the orphan daughters of officers as well as of the rank and file; many of them were natural children.[1]

In 1766 the health of Mr. Parry, the Fort William Chaplain, began to give way. The Government of Fort William thereupon wrote to the Government of Fort St. George, and asked that Mr. Thomas might be allowed to go to Calcutta, and remain there until the pleasure of the Directors was known.[2] The very same month that they wrote, a new Chaplain arrived for them; so that they no longer required Mr. Thomas' services.[3] In the following March[4] the friends of Mr. Thomas asked the Directors to transfer him to Bengal; and the Directors 'as well out of regard to the said application as the merit of Mr. Thomas' complied with their request. But when Thomas heard of the proposal, he declined to go.[5] He was happily placed, and desired no change.

The Governor and Council of Fort St. George made some effort in 1766 to supply further religious ministrations for the troops in the out-garrisons. They sent Thomas to Vellore and to Trichinopoly; but as the health of the senior Chaplain, Mr. Griffiths, was at this time beginning to fail, they wrote to the Directors and asked them to appoint two more Chaplains for the services of the army and the cantonments and the subordinate settlements.[6] The Directors took no notice of this request. In April 1768 Mr. Griffiths died. The Council wrote home[7]:—

'It is with real concern we are to acquaint your Honours that the Rev. Mr. Griffiths, after a lingering and painful illness,

[1] Vestry Minute Book, Nov. 1769, Jan. 1765 etc.
[2] Consultations, 21 Aug. 1766. [3] Do. 19 Sept. 1766.
[4] Despatch, 4 March 1767, para. 36.
[5] Consultations, 28 Nov. 1767, and Letter, 5 Nov. 1767, para. 89.
[6] Letter, 22 Jan. 1767, para. 114.
[7] Letter, 11 May, 1768, para. 69.

departed this life the 25th ultimo. Mr. Thomas being the only Chaplain at this Presidency, we request that you will appoint another.'

Almost a year [1] later the Directors appointed the Rev. Benjamin Salmon; they added, 'and as he is a gentleman of character in his profession, we doubt not his conduct will be suitable to it.'

Salmon arrived in October of that year, and attended a Vestry meeting in November. He found the pay and allowances of his post less than he anticipated. He therefore complained to the Governor; and when a Board of Police was established for magisterial purposes of all minor kinds at the beginning of 1770, Benjamin Salmon was appointed Secretary of the Board at £100 a year,[2] the motive of this appointment being his very scanty allowance as Chaplain.

In January 1774 Salmon resigned. The Directors were asked to appoint another Chaplain [3]; but Thomas remained in sole charge until his return to Europe through ill-health at the end of 1777 on board the flag ship of Sir Edward Hughes.

During his incumbency the question of responsibility for the repair of the Church roof and steeple, which had been damaged in the siege of 1758–9, was discussed and settled at Fort St. George. The Vestry called for a report and estimate in January 1765; and again in January 1766. In February 1767 the Master Bricklayer was called upon to state why he had not submitted an estimate. He replied that the quantity of materials for the scaffolding would be very great and very expensive, and that he could not give an estimate. It was thereupon agreed to ask the Government for the loan of the materials and the expense of execution. This was the resolution of the Council [4]:—

'As the steeple was considerably damaged in the siege by the enemy's shot and shell, so much indeed that the top is now in danger of falling; and as the Church which was also

[1] Despatch, 17 March 1769, para. 59.
[2] Letter, 6 April 1770, paras. 40–45.
[3] Letter, 5 Feb. 1774, 83.
[4] Consultations, 26 Feb. 1767.

damaged, has been repaired at the expense of the Church Fund, which can very ill afford it; and as the greatest expense in repairing the steeple will be the scaffolding which the Engineer acquaints the Board may be furnished from the Company's Stores and returned after use; it is agreed that the Engineer be ordered to erect a scaffolding and make such repairs as are necessary at the Company's expense.'

Under ordinary circumstances the repairs would probably have been carried out at once. But the times were unfavourable. We were at peace with the European powers; but Hyder Ali of Mysore suddenly entered the Carnatic with 70,000 men. He had with him a large number of French and Swiss soldiers who had entered his service when the French possessions were taken. He was defeated by Brig. Gen. Joseph Smith at Chengamah on the 2 September, and at Tirumallai on the 3 October 1767. Between those dates his cavalry appeared at Madras, plundered St. Thoma, burnt several villages near, and then as rapidly disappeared. The war continued through 1768 mostly on the borders and within the borders of his own country. In 1769 he appeared before Madras again with his cavalry desiring peace, but stipulating that during the negotiations General Joseph Smith should be ordered to remain stationary at a distance of 25 miles. This war put the Government to a great expense, so that the repair of the Church was for the time impossible.

An attempt to refill the exhausted treasury by compelling the Rajah of Tanjore and the Polygars of Madura to pay something towards the expenses of the war, on the ground that their territories had been successfully defended against the common enemy, led to further trouble; and the war continued till the occupation of Tanjore by the Company's troops in 1776.

The steeple could wait; but the Church and the Church Lodgings could not. In January 1772 the Vestry resolved to repair the roof of the Church at the cost of the Church Fund; this was accordingly done; the bill amounted to 644 pagodas [1]; and 20 per cent. extra was given to the Master Bricklayer for

[1] Vestry Minutes, April 1773.

superintending the work. At various times repairs were done to the Church Lodgings.[1]

On the conclusion of the Tanjore difficulty the Vestry again approached the Government.[2] The resolution before mentioned was sent in reply and entered in the Minute Book; but the favourable opportunity had not yet come. The Government was upset by dissensions in the Council; and when Sir Thomas Rumbold arrived in 1778 as Governor, a fresh war with France, Holland, and Hyder Ali broke out, which lasted till 1784. This was Sir Hector Munro's and Sir Eyre Coote's great campaign. Munro took and destroyed Pondicherry[3]; Eyre Coote defeated the enemy at Port Novo, Sholinghur, and other places. The possessions of the Dutch were taken from them. But there were also losses, repulses and defeats; and an anxious time for the Fort St. George Government.

In 1780 the Vestry asked the Government to assist in the repair of the Church Lodgings on the ground that all their income was taken up in the relief of widows, orphans and poor persons. But the Board regretted its inability to entertain the request.[4]

To fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Mr. B. W. Salmon the Directors appointed Mr. St. John Browne.[5] He arrived in August 1775. His name does not appear in the Vestry Minute Book as attending a Vestry meeting; nor in the Register Books as performing any sacred duty. Before he had been in the country six months he was in serious trouble. He wrote to the Council on the 24th January 1776 asking for a passage home.[6] This was granted together with £50 for his expenses; but the Council also resolved to write home 'that he be not sent out again in any capacity.' They informed[7] the Directors that one night in punishing one of his servants, the man trying to escape fell from a terrace 20 feet high; that Browne made no attempt to discover if he were hurt, but behaved with inhumanity; that next morning the man was discovered mortally hurt; and that on the following

[1] Vestry Minutes, 1770, 1774, and 1779. [2] Do. 25 May 1776.
[3] It cost 55,000 pagodas to destroy the fortifications. Letters, 22 Oct. 1778, 3, 4, and 14 Oct. 1779, 3.
[4] Vestry Minutes, Jan. and Feb. 1780. [5] Despatch, 4 Jan. 1775, para. 5.
[6] Consultations, 24 Jan. 1776. [7] Letter, 14 Feb. 1776, paras. 11–14.

day he died; that Browne was brought to trial for murder; that the jury acquitted him, and brought in a verdict of homicide by misadventure; and that Browne was now going home to sue out his pardon from the Court of Chancery. The incident was most unfortunate; and probably none regretted it more than Browne himself. He was new to the country; and did not understand about verandah roofs and their danger. It is much more likely that he assumed the man had climbed down the supporting pillar of the verandah and safely reached the ground, than that he was guilty of the inhumanity of leaving a wounded man to lie in the street all night unhelped and unattended. Governor Pigot and the Council went on to say:—

'The appointment of Chaplains cannot be made with too great caution. We are of opinion that it will be difficult to persuade persons of approved and established characters in their profession to accept the office unless an increase of salary be annexed to it. The present advantages are certainly too inconsiderable; and it is hardly to be expected that any gentleman who is secured in a decent provision at home, would expose himself to all the inconveniences of a foreign climate to receive what is barely sufficient for his maintenance, without any other prospect of advantage whatever. We request your Honours will be pleased to take the matter into your consideration, and make such an addition to the salaries of your Chaplains as upon the foregoing representation may appear to you reasonable.'

The time was ripe for opening this question; all salaries had been increased except the Chaplain's. The Vestry increased it in 1750 by building the Church Lodgings for the free accommodation of one Chaplain; and in 1753 by making an allowance from the Church Fund to the other Chaplain for the superintendence of the St. Mary's School. But even thus the pay and allowances were small compared with those of others in the settlement. The Council recognised the injustice; and adopted various devices to effect the increase which the Directors would not sanction. They made Salmon secretary of the Police Board; they made Thomas Chaplain of Vellore, with a payment of 85 pagodas a month; but to prevent any objection on the part of the Directors Thomas

was placed on the military establishment and paid out of the Nawab's military subsidy. Later on they put both their Chaplains on the military establishment, and directed their extra payment from this source of revenue. One was called Chaplain of Vellore, and the other the Chaplain of the Army. But these devices were unsatisfactory. The time had arrived for an increase; and the Council took the opportunity of Browne's unfortunate conduct to press the matter with their Hon. Masters. The Directors took no notice of the application. St. John Browne did not go home in one of the February ships as the Council intended. There is nothing in the records to show why. He applied to the Council in June for some subsistence allowance,[1] was granted 100 pagodas, and was told not to expect more. After that his name disappears from Madras history.

The hot weather of 1777 appears to have tried Mr. Thomas very severely; he was single handed and had been so for two years; for the Directors had sent out no successor to their last nominee. A British fleet, under the command of Sir Edward Vernon, was at this time in the Madras roads; and a Chaplain, named William Bainbrigge, was with the fleet. He was willing to take up the work at Fort St. George; and being recommended both by Sir Edward Vernon and by Sir Edward Hughes, the Council appointed him, until the Company's pleasure was known.[2] The Council wrote home informing the Directors of the appointment, and asking them to confirm it, describing Bainbrigge as Chaplain of H.M.S. Rippon.[3] Subject to the Court's approval they gave him the same allowances as Thomas had had.[4]

Thomas was one of the Chaplains who made himself popular with all classes in Madras. The Vestry passed this resolution of appreciation [5]:—

'The Vestry express their satisfaction with the exemplary conduct of Mr. Thomas during his residence in the settlement, and regret his state of health compels him to return to Europe. Ordered that a copy of this minute and the thanks of the Vestry be sent to Mr. Thomas in Europe.'

[1] Consultations, 11 June 1776.
[2] Do. 29 July, 1777.
[3] Letter, 19 Sept. 1777.
[4] Letter, 5 Feb. 1778.
[5] Vestry Minutes, 5 Dec. 1777.

The Council agreed that 'as his conduct has invariably been such as to obtain the respect and regard of the whole Community,' 'he be made mention of accordingly in our address to our Hon. Masters.'[1]

This is what they wrote[2]:—

'Chaplain the Rev. Mr. John Thomas proceeds on H.M.S. Salisbury for the recovery of his health; his true piety and exemplary conduct induce us to recommend it to the Court to confer some mark of their favour upon him.

'Mr. Thomas has served you 12 years in the office of Chaplain; his true piety and exemplary conduct have gained him the esteem of every one. After so long a residence in this country, by which he has entirely worn out his constitution, we are sorry to observe that his circumstances are not sufficient to enable him to live in such manner as his indifferent state of health seems to require. We doubt not that in this situation you will, if it can be done with propriety, confer upon him some mark of your favour, to which we heartily recommend him.'

Mr. Thomas wrote a letter of thanks to the Vestry.[3]

When the local Government appointed Bainbrigge they recorded this minute in the Consultation Book[4]:—

'The Board are sensible of the justness of Mr. Bainbrigge's representation with respect to the difficulties he must experience in his present situation. We have upon former occasions observed to the Hon. Court of Directors how inadequate the salary of their Chaplains has ever been to the purposes of maintaining them in a manner suitable to their profession; and since the increase which has of late years arisen throughout this settlement in the price of almost every article of expense, the inconveniences of their situation must have been proportionally augmented. We hope the Hon. Court will see with us the propriety of enabling Mr. Bainbrigge to support himself as becomes the respectable office he holds in their service, which it is agreed to state to them in our next advices; and in the mean time that the allowances formerly drawn by Mr. Thomas be given to Mr. Bainbrigge from the time of the departure of H.M.S. Salisbury.

[1] Consultations, 30 Sept. 1777.
[2] Letter, 3 Oct. 1777, 16.
[3] Vestry Minutes, 5 Feb. 1780.
[4] Consultations, 31 Oct. 1777.

When there were two Chaplains at the Fort, in accordance with the Directors' own rule, they drew pay as follows :—

		£		
(1) The Senior Chaplain,	Government Pay . .	100	0	0
	,, Diet Money	76	16	0
		176	16	0

And the Vestry allowed a house, rent free.

		£		
(2) The Junior Chaplain,	Government Pay . .	100	0	0
	,, Diet Money	76	16	0
	,, House rent	33	12	0
	And the Vestry allowed for the School Superintendence	100	0	0
		210	8	0

The Junior received more than the Senior ; but he had to pay rent for a house, and teach in the St. Mary's School.

When a Chaplain had sole charge he received the regular Government Pay and diet money, the house, and the Vestry allowance for superintending the School, in all £276 16s. and the house.

The Council's devices and plans to increase the pay of the Chaplains did not become regular until 1779. The Directors appointed the Rev. John Stanley in 1778 [1]; he arrived and reported his arrival on the 31 July 1778 before the Council had received the Despatch announcing his appointment.[2] He began at once to make enquiry about his pay and allowances ; and he wrote to the Council in September about them, and claimed to succeed to the vacancy caused by Thomas going home. In those perilous days letters and despatches did not always reach their destination. The Directors did not apparently know of Bainbrigge's appointment locally. And the Council did not know of Stanley's appointment in London. According to the rules of the Company, Stanley was the Senior Chaplain ; but Bainbrigge occupied the Church Lodgings, had charge of the School, and was Chaplain of Vellore ; and he had been filling these posts acceptably for nearly a

[1] Despatch, 4 March 1778, para. 9.
[2] Consultations, 31 July 1778.

year. However Stanley's letter obliged the Council to consider and settle his claim.[1] They decided without reference home that each Chaplain should draw the Company's allowances for salary and diet; that Bainbrigge should continue Chaplain of Vellore, and Stanley Chaplain to the Army, with permission to draw the pay of a Captain; that all other allowances should be equally divided; Bainbrigge to have the house and Stanley the house rent. The Military Paymaster wrote to enquire if the Chaplains were to draw these allowances month by month whether they visited Vellore and the Army or not; and the reply was 'Yes' to both questions.[2] It was an intentional device to do what the Directors would not do, raise the pay to such a sum as would enable the Chaplains to support themselves in the social position they occupied. Having made this arrangement the Governor and Council wrote to the Directors announcing what they had done; that in consequence of the representations of the Vestry and the Churchwardens they had ordered[3] an extra allowance of £100 a year to the Chaplains; and they asked the Directors to confirm the order. In September 1780 Stanley went on leave to Bengal.[4] He was employed there as soon as he arrived,[5] and did not return; he resigned his Madras appointment two years later.[6]

The Council appointed the Rev. Benjamin Millingchamp to the vacancy, and wrote home to that effect[7]; the Directors gave no reply.

During the first three years of Mr. Bainbrigge's incumbency the Vestry met no less than twelve times to discuss important matters connected with its interests. In Dec. 1777 it tried to solve the difficulty of the Chaplain's income by voting him an allowance of 500 pagodas a year out of the Church Fund, in addition to his pay. In Dec. 1778, on the arrival of Mr. Stanley, it resolved that this sum should henceforth be shared by the two Chaplains. At this meeting Sir Hector Munro and Stephen Popham were present. But the members of the

[1] Consultations, 11 Sept. 1778, 23 Sept. 1778, 22 Jan. 1779, and 27 Aug. 1779. Letter, 16 March, 1779, para. 13.

[2] Consultations, 3 June 1779.

[3] Letter, 4 April 1780.

[4] Consultations, 8 Sept. 1780.

[5] Hyde's *Parochial Annals of Bengal*, 163.

[6] Consultations, 24 July, 1782.

[7] Do. do. Letter, 31 Aug. 1782, para. 59.

Vestry seem to have had some doubt as to whether this grant was a legitimate application of their funds. They resolved to reconsider it in March 1779; in the following October it was agreed to discontinue it, and to address the Government on the insufficiency of the salaries given to the Chaplains. The Governor, Sir Thomas Rumbold, the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Hector Munro, and 21 others were present. The result was the placing of the Chaplains on the Military pay list, and the assignment to them of military duty, for which they drew military pay but which they could only fitfully and irregularly perform.

The Vestry at this time had cause for anxiety and were anxious about the condition of the School building. It was situated in Middle Gate Street; it belonged to the Company, and had been lent by the Council to the Vestry for the purpose of the school after the siege of 1758–9. The Vestry's own school house had been destroyed by shot and shell. In April 1778 Mr. Bainbrigge reported that the school house wanted repair; and that more money was required for the school to enable it to take in all the orphan children of the soldiers of the Company; that a new school house was wanted and a larger one. The Vestry resolved to raise a subscription at the Presidency and at the different subordinate stations, and to establish a fund for the purpose, to be under the direction of the Minister and Churchwardens. It was however a time of war, and therefore an unfavourable time; so that this resolution does not appear to have been carried out. In March 1779 Mr. Bainbrigge again reported to the Vestry that the school house needed repair. The Vestry agreed that as the house was the property of the Company, it could not interfere. In Oct. 1779 Mr. Bainbrigge reported that in consequence of the state of the school house, he had removed the children to his own house, that is, to the Church Lodgings. The Chief Engineer reported that the school house was irreparable. The Vestry resolved to rent another house for the present for school purposes. They also addressed the Governor and Council asking for the allotment of another house. In Dec. 1779 the Vestry received a reply informing them that the Government could not accommodate the children

with any other house. It was resolved therefore to ask the Council to make over the ground of the old house to the Charity, to enable the parish to make provision for the children. In January 1780 it was resolved, as the Council could not assist the Charity by either repairing the old house or giving another, to ask the Civil Architect to examine the old house and estimate the cost of repairing it. On obtaining this estimate a letter was at once written by the Chaplains and Churchwardens to the Government representing that the rent of 60 pagodas a month was very heavy for the present [1] school house; that they desired to repair the old school house and alter it, (the cost being 785 pagodas) at the expense of the Fund; and asking the Government either to give the old building, or to grant a lease of it for 99 years to the Ministers and Churchwardens upon a small quit rent, to enable the parish to make a proper provision for the accommodation of the children. The Council passed the following order; 'The Board have been pleased to grant them the lease of the old building for the use of the Charity School for a term of 99 years upon paying to the Company 5 pagodas per annum.' [2] The Vestry then put the building in repair. It was in use as the Charity School house till 1872, when the St. Mary's School and the Civil Male and Female Orphan Asylums were amalgamated and accommodated at Egmore. The lease expired in 1879. But no one remembered this. The fact was not discovered till 1891, when the Government resumed possession.

In Dec. 1781, whilst the war was still going on with the French the Dutch and the Mysoreans, the subject of the prevailing famine was discussed by the Vestry, and it was resolved that the Churchwardens should open a subscription, and draw up rules for the distribution of the charity. In Jan. 1782 a committee of 15 was appointed by the Vestry to manage the charity to the Poor Native Inhabitants. The committee included 11 Europeans and British Eurasians, 1 Portuguese Eurasian, 1 Armenian, and 2 Hindus. The Chaplain and Churchwardens formed the Executive Committee.

[1] That is, the one they were then hiring. [2] Consultations, 3 March 1780.

Application was made to Government for help [1]; public and private individuals were appealed to for subscriptions; the secretary of the last famine committee (Chocopah Chetty) was called upon for his accounts; several letters were written during the year 1782 to the Governor and Council reporting progress, and seeking co-operation. In May the Churchwardens wrote that they were desired by the Committee to send a list of Black [2] subscribers, to shew how inadequate their subscriptions were, and how irregular in their payments; and to ask the Government to use its influence with the Black inhabitants to contribute more largely and more regularly.[3] From the letter it appears that the Europeans were contributing 800 pagodas monthly, and the Black subscribers 242 pagodas monthly. The famine lasted for two years. Bainbrigge died on the 6th September 1783 just as it was over. Mr. Richard Leslie was appointed to succeed him on the 10th Sept.[4] On the 14 Jan. 1784 the Chaplains and Churchwardens wrote to the Government by desire of the Famine Committee, detailing what they had done in the matter of relief. They added:— 'The Committee also resolved that the sum of 8000 pagodas, part of the present fund for the Native poor shall be lodged with Government in the name of the Ministers and Churchwardens'; and they asked that 8 separate bonds of 1000 pagodas each might be made out in the names of the Ministers and Churchwardens for the benefit of the Native poor. This request was granted.[5] The Fund was known as the Native Poor Fund, and was administered by the Vestry until 1809.

An examination of the St. Mary's Register Books makes one wonder how the Chaplains, often single handed, managed to do all the work that they had to do. As early as 1766 Mr. Thomas paid an official visit to the troops at Vellore [6] and Trichinopoly. In 1775 he was at Masulipatam.[7] There is no reason to suppose that these were the only visits paid to the out-garrisons and subordinate stations, even though there is no reference to others in the records. The Vestry Minute Books, the Registers themselves, and the S.P.C.K. Reports

[1] Consultations, 6 August 1782.
[2] This is the term used in the letters and papers.
[3] Consultations, 24 May 1782. [4] Do. 10 Sept. 1783. [5] Do. 14 Jan. 1784.
[6] Letter, 22 Jan. 1767, para. 114. [7] Consultations, 3 Dec. 1775.

throw some light on the question. Besides the two Churchwardens there were two Sidesmen elected annually. One of the Junior Merchants was Clerk of the Vestry; there was a European Schoolmaster, a European Organist, and a European Church Clerk. Between them these managed the Fund Accounts, the financial affairs of the School, Poor relief, and frequently officiated at the frequent funerals. The S.P.C.K. Missionaries at Vepery managed the Female Orphan School; and being in spiritual charge of the Naval Hospital, they officiated at the naval funerals. There were many helpers; or the two Chaplains—often only one—would never have been able to do what had to be done.

The Fund accounts were intricate, and involved large sums of money. When the Vestry wrote to the Government in 1780,[1] and begged the Government to assist them in the repair and partial rebuilding of the Church Lodgings, they pleaded what they had expended in originally building the Lodgings, what they had expended in their annual repair, and what they were doing in the cause of charity. They said, 'we are desirous that the habitation of the Hon. Company's Chaplain shall be equal to the rank and station of a Minister.' They enclosed a Balance sheet of the Church Cash for the

BALANCE SHEET.

Dr.	Pagodas	Cr.	Pagodas
To Interest 30,000 Pags. at 9 %	2700	School Charge at 150 p.m.	1800
Do. 8000 Do. 8	640	Clothing	200
Do. 2600 Do. 10	260	House rent at 60 pags.	720
" Charitable Contributions	200	Charity Girls at Vepery at 30 pags. p.m.	360
	3800	Organist at 25 pags.	303
Debit Balance	366	Vestry Clerk at 10 pags.	120
		Mr. Pybus' children at 10 pags.	120
		Monthly Charities at 44 pags.	528
		Sundries	15
	4166		4166

year 1779. As showing what the income and expenditure was at that time, it is of great interest. But their appeal was unsuccessful. This was the resolution of the Council:—

'Ordered that as the Board so very lately contributed so

[1] Consultations, 3 Feb. 1780.

handsomely by an additional allowance granted to the Chaplains, they did not expect another application from them so soon upon the subject of relief to the Charity Fund, and that their request cannot be complied with.'

In March 1782 the authorities of Fort St. George were much troubled about want of store room within the walls of the Fort. A number of buildings had to be appropriated for the use of the French and Dutch prisoners, and for the purposes of the Fleet; the buildings that remained were insufficient for the necessary Garrison and Military Stores. The Council considered it expedient [1] that the stores necessary during a siege should be constantly lodged within the walls of the Fort; and their thoughts turned to the Church, which from its construction (it was built with a bomb proof roof and very thick walls) they esteemed to be a safe and commodious place for them. It was then agreed that with the consent of the Vestry the Church should be allotted to the different store-keepers for that purpose until the warehouses could be spared for them. And it was ordered that the Vestry be informed of the above resolution. At the desire of the Rt. Hon. the President [2] they were offered the Hall of the Government House for the performance of Divine Service so long as the Church should be shut up.

Three days later a Vestry meeting was held.[3] Lord Macartney presided. William Bainbrigge, the two Churchwardens, and five other heads of families were present, including Andrew Ross the free merchant. The Governor represented to the Vestry the reasons for the resolution which the Council had passed, and asked for the Vestry's consent. Mr. William Webb was of opinion that nothing but absolute necessity could justify the act; and that such necessity did not appear from the information laid before the Vestry. Mr. Henry Mitchell thought that the mode of application was unsatisfactory. The Governor having withdrawn such part of the representation as was not agreeable to the Vestry, and having applied on the same footing as Governor Pigot on the 25th June 1758 on the like occasion, the Rev. Mr. Bainbrigge thought it reasonable

[1] Consultations, 1 March 1782. [2] Lord Macartney, P.C.
[3] Vestry Minutes, 4 March 1782.

to give the same consent as his predecessor Mr. Palk. The Vestry thereupon agreed that the Church should be allowed for the purpose desired; and they directed the Minister and Churchwardens to take charge of the Organ, the Altar piece, and the Church furniture.

During the year 1782 there arrived four of H.M.'s regiments of Foot, one regiment of Cavalry, and 500 men for the Company's European Battalions; and Hyder Ali of Mysore died. The danger of a siege consequently no longer threatened. The Vestry therefore resolved [1] to ask the Government to restore the Church. It was not until the end of October 1783 that this was done. The Chaplains and Churchwardens then wrote [2] to the Government, and represented that the inside of the building had sustained much injury during the preceding 12 months, and they asked in compensation for the repair of the Church, the Church Lodgings and the Vestry Room. The Council were good enough to order the necessary repairs; and they further directed the Committee of Works to survey the Church Lodgings, and report if both Chaplains could be accommodated there.

A year later the Minister and Churchwardens reported to the Vestry [3] that the repairs of the Church were still unfinished, and that they could get no reply from the Committee of Works. They added that the stone pavement under the soldiers' seats had been removed, causing a danger that the Church would be infested with vermin. The Vestry having proceeded to the Church for inspection, agreed to ask that the stone pavement be replaced, and to complain that the new venetians were not as good as the old ones.

The stone slabs inside the Church, and the memorial stone slabs which were brought from the old burial ground and laid round it on the outside,[4] had been taken to the ramparts for the purpose of building platforms for the guns. Here they remained until 1807. Many of them were broken in transit to and fro. The loan of the consecrated building was patriotically necessary; the use of the slabs was necessary; but the authorities ought to have been prompt and liberal in repairing all damages, and restoring the *status quo ante* as

[1] Vestry Minutes, 31 Dec. 1782.
[2] Consultations, 28 Oct. 1783.
[3] Vestry Minutes, 22 Nov. 1784.
[4] Do. 17 Jan. 1766.

soon as ever the danger was over and the necessity gone. Part of the north aisle of the Church still remains unpaved.

The following minute on the subject written by the Governor, Lord William Bentinck, in 1807 shows that the date and the occasion of the removal of the stones had then been forgotten;[1]—

'During the last siege of Fort St. George many of the tomb stones were taken from the Churchyard within the Fort, and made use of as platforms for the Batteries on the northern face, where they have since remained. The first Chaplain[2] has suggested to me the propriety of these monuments being replaced in the Churchyard. The suggestion appearing a very proper one I recommend the Military Board may be directed to carry it into execution.'

The Council resolved to give orders accordingly; and the tombstones were replaced round the Church; but the stones which were removed from the interior were not replaced.[3]

It will be remembered that when the Church was consecrated burials within its walls were specially excepted. The consecration deeds were registered in London; if there were copies of them at Fort St. George, they were lost during the French occupation of the Fort in 1746–9. There was no recollection locally of any such exception in the year 1777 when the Right Hon. Lord Pigot died. When this event took place, the Hon. Edward Monckton, his son-in-law and executor, applied to the Churchwardens for permission to inter his Lordship's body in the Church. The Minister and Churchwardens consented, 'in consideration of his Lordship's distinguished character, and the essential services he has rendered the public.' They likewise consented to a tombstone being laid over his grave, and his escutcheon being hung in the Church. The burial took place on May 11th; the Minister (John Thomas) and Churchwardens reported to the Vestry what they had done at the next meeting in June.

[1] Military Consultations, 29 Aug. 1807.

[2] The Senior Chaplain, Dr. R. H. Kerr.

[3] The paving of the rest of the Church is with dressed Pallaveram stone (gneiss), one foot square, placed diagonally, the alternate stones being slightly polished to darken their colour. There are stones of this size and appearance in front and in the hall of the house now occupied by the Garrison Chaplain, which look as if they once belonged to the Church. The house was not the Chaplain's quarters till 1827.

The Vestry approved of the interment of Lord Pigot's body in the Church for the reasons mentioned; but thought it 'necessary to remark that this is not to be looked upon as a precedent to any future interment.'[1]

However the precedent was made; and when His Excellency Sir Eyre Coote K.B.—the distinguished soldier, the victorious General, the hero of Porto Novo and Sholinghur—died in April 1783, it was impossible to resist the application for the interment of his remains inside the building. The burial took place on the 28 April. The Churchwardens reported what they had done to the Vestry at its next meeting on the 31 Dec. 1783. The following is extracted from the Vestry Minute Book of that date.

'Mr. Vaughan[2] acquaints the Vestry that upon the death of Sir Eyre Coote he received an application from the family, requesting that his remains might be interred in the Church, and a message was sent to him from the Governor at the same time, expressing his wish that this distinction however unusual might be shown to a person of Sir Eyre Coote's high station and character.

'As the same had been done in a former instance towards the corpse of the late Lord Pigot as a mark of gratitude for the eminent services of his Lordship in India, Mr. Vaughan, being the only Churchwarden present, was induced to allow of it on this occasion also for the same reasons which operated then, the services of Sir Eyre Coote having not only obtained him the repeated applause and thanks of his country, but made the most grateful impression on the mind of every individual here, who are sensible that to his great exertions the present situation of this country is principally owing, and honouring him equally for his private virtues as his public abilities.

'Mr. Vaughan therefore hopes that the Vestry will approve of his conduct in having consented to his being buried in the Church, and consider it as a distinction to which he was entitled on every account in a settlement so much indebted as this has been to him both in the former as well as in the present war.

'Mr. Vaughan then delivers in the application from Col. Owen for the interment of Sir Eyre Coote's remains

[1] Vestry Minutes, 21 June 1777.
[2] Hugh Vaughan was the Senior Churchwarden.

within the walls of the Church. On receiving the above application Mr. Vaughan acquaints the Vestry that he shewed it to the Rev. Mr. Bainbrigge [1] and the Rev. Mr. Millingchamp, who readily acquiesced in the propriety of an immediate compliance.

'The Vestry approve of the Ministers' and Churchwardens' conduct with regard to the above representation.'

Fault could be found with the composition of the report; but there are two notable things in connection with it,—the hearty appreciation of the deceased General; and the fact that the Churchwardens did so much to help the Ministers in those days in matters which were not spiritual. It was the Churchwarden who was addressed in the matter, the Churchwarden who acted, and the Churchwarden who reported.

The body of Sir Eyre Coote did not remain in St. Mary's Fort St. George much more than a year. Colonel Owen, one of the General's executors, then wrote to the Rev. Mr. Millingchamp requesting permission to remove the remains to England. With the concurrence of the Rev. Mr. Leslie and the Churchwardens permission was given, and the body was conveyed on board H.M.S. Belmont for Europe.[2]

When the Vestry agreed to hand over the Church to the Civil authorities to be used as a Store in March 1782, they directed the Churchwardens to take charge of the Organ, the Altar Piece and the furniture. This is the first reference in the records to thé Altar Piece. It is a picture measuring about 10 × 8 feet, and is a well-executed copy of Raphael's cartoon of the Last Supper. There are some little differences between the original and the copy; for instance, the elegant hanging lamp of the original is omitted in the copy; and an ordinary bason and jug and towel take the place of the artistic ewer in the right hand corner.[3] But the positions and the attitudes of the figures leave no doubt as to the original of the copy. There is no known record as to how and when the picture came into the possession of the Chaplains and Churchwardens. It was not mentioned with other

[1] William Bainbrigge died on the 6 Sept. 1783.

[2] Vestry Minutes, 22 Nov. 1784.

[3] I am indebted to the Rev. C. H. Malden, Garrison Chaplain of Fort St. George, for observing these differences.

things which were brought from Pondicherry after the first capture in 1761. It is not likely that it adorned the Capuchin Church of St. Andrew in the Fort, and that it was appropriated when that Church was demolished; for all the adornments were given up to the Roman Catholics. Nor is it likely that the picture was purchased in England by the Churchwardens—even though the Hanoverian Court had made Altar pieces fashionable—for the Churchwardens had no money to spare for mere adornment. It is most likely that it came from Pondicherry after the second capture in 1778. The picture remained the Altar piece till an east window was pierced in the sanctuary wall in 1795 for the purpose of admitting the sea breeze.[1] It was then placed in the Vestry. Later on it was raised to its present position over the chancel arch. Although it is difficult to make out the detail of the picture where it is, the position is the best possible one for it; for it is safe from injury from the sun, the wind, and the rain.

It has been mentioned that the bell on the roof of the Fort House was borrowed from the Church. In that position it served more than one purpose; it was used to summon Council meetings and give alarms as well as for ecclesiastical purposes. In 1784 it was moved back at the Company's expense from the Fort House to the Church belfry,[2] and thenceforth was used for Church purposes only. The use of a Church Bell for secular purposes was revived in the Fort in the middle of the 19th century. By that time the Government had adopted the policy of building Churches in military stations and supplying the necessary furniture. Bells were imported through the Ordnance Department, which generally had two or three in stock ready for use. Some Ordnance officer determined to make use of one of these bells to summon his coolies to work. The bell ringer only knew one way of ringing a bell; and that way was the Church way. Day by day punctually at eight o'clock it rang for five minutes, and made every dweller in the Fort think of Church service and religious duty. In the last decade of the 19th century it was removed to the Camp Equipage Store a mile away.

[1] Vestry Proceedings, 1 April 1795. [2] Do. 22 Nov. 1784.

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CHAPTER XVII

THE CHAPLAINS AND THEIR WORK FROM 1785 TO 1805

SINCE the recovery of Fort William and the Conquest of Bengal by H.M.'s Fleet and a military force of Madras troops the northern Presidency, relieved of its troubles and anxieties from its country neighbours, had grown very rapidly in wealth and political importance. Similar causes to those which prevented its commercial prosperity and political expansion before 1757 were operating in the southern Presidency a quarter of a century later. Former depressions were due to competition with other European powers on the Coast. The depression in 1785 was due to conflict with the country powers. The strength and the hostility of these—the Mysoreans chiefly—reduced the possibility of the growth of inland trade. The trade was not less than formerly; nor was the revenue arising from the Company's southern possessions; but the expenditure over naval and military establishments grew faster than the revenues and commercial profits; and this caused both anxiety and impatience at the East India House. In 1785 Lord Macartney recommended the recall of the King's troops in order to relieve the financial pressure.[1]

Up to 1785 all the various business of the Government had been conducted by the Council at their daily sittings. In that year it was recognised that the limit of human powers had been reached, and the business was divided amongst different smaller Boards. Besides the Council there was appointed a Military Board, a Revenue Board and a Trade Board. The Council passed or varied the resolutions of the Boards; and administered directly all other matters. This

[1] Letter, 30 Jan. 1785.

necessary alteration added to the cost of government, and increased the financial difficulty; which difficulty was during the next ten years largely responsible for the Company's neglect of the religious and moral welfare of its military and civil servants on the Coast.

On the other hand there had grown by degrees in the Council a species of Home Rule. The early Governors, with the exception of Streynsham Master, were accustomed to recommend actions and policies to their Honourable Employers, and to await their sanction before carrying them out. Later Governors carried out their own resolutions and reported their action afterwards. When Lord Macartney, the first political Governor, was appointed in 1781, this course became the general rule of procedure. To some extent it counterbalanced the disinclination of the Directors to incur the expense of appointing Chaplains. The Company's servants in the Presidency of Madras, and the Company's Governor in Council, knew what was locally wanted, and supplied the want time after time without reference home. There was grave cause of complaint against the parsimony of the Directors at the end of the century in the matter of the employment of clergy and the building of Churches and the establishment of schools for the benefit of the thousands of Europeans in their employ. There would have been a still graver cause of complaint if the Madras Government had not taken the matter in some measure into their own hands, and supplied the need from their local resources.

The financial embarrassment of the Madras Government at this period not only prevented them from paying their soldiers and Chaplains regularly[1]; but it also prevented them from behaving with that liberality to the poor who were born in their jurisdiction, which had so greatly distinguished the Company in former days; and from doing themselves justice by fulfilling their obligations. The Government had already expressed its intention of restoring the Church to the Wardens after its loan and use as a storehouse, in as good a condition as when they took it over. But the paving remained

[1] Both in 1788 and 1789 the Chaplains had to petition for the payment of their salaries.

unattended to. Frequent applications were made for the repayment of the cost of replacing the organ; the last application[1] was made by the Senior Churchwarden, William Duffin, in 1791 for the payment of 130 pagodas—'the cost of replacing the organ, it having been taken down for the purpose of converting the Church into a granary during the late war.' It is hardly possible to believe that the Government was obliged to refuse the application. But they said:—

'After such a lapse of time, and the Company having already defrayed a considerable expense in repairing and ornamenting St. Mary's Church, the Board cannot admit of any further charge,' etc.

The Directors were equally disinclined to incur or sanction any expense in small matters in which they had formerly been most liberal. In 1785 the Chaplains complained[2] that no attention had been paid to their indent for Bibles, Prayer Books and other books for four years. In 1787 they applied again[3]; adding that the last supply had long since been distributed to the Company's soldiers at Vellore, Vizagapatam and Fort St. George; and that they had had repeated applications from Wallajabad, Arcot, and from the recently arrived recruits. A supply was sent[4] in 1788 for 'the use of St. Mary's Parish,' after an interval of seven years. In 1791 the Chaplains expressed[5] their disappointment that no supply had been received for two years; and that they were unable to comply with the numerous applications that came to them from every quarter. A supply was sent; but the ship which carried them was lost; and the Chaplains remained without a supply till the end of 1794. In 1793 they applied afresh.[6] It was in answer to this application that the Directors wrote[7]:—

'The letter addressed to you by our Chaplains on the subject of their indents for Bibles and other books for the Church and out-garrisons has been duly considered; and in

[1] Consultations, 25 Feb. 1791.
[2] Do. 4 Feb. 1785.
[3] Do. 19 Oct. 1787.
[4] Despatch, 28 March 1788, 31.
[5] Consultations, 28 Jan. 1791.
[6] Letter, 2 May 1793, 14.
[7] Despatch, 23 April 1794, 58.

consequence of the loss of the books sent out by the Winterton in the season 1791–2, and the enlarged demand arising from the increase of our military establishment, twice the usual quantity will be consigned to you by the ships of the present season.'

The double consignment was a distinct though tardy recognition of a liberal custom, which would probably have been followed before if circumstances had permitted. The Chaplains wrote again[1] in 1801 saying 'we are in great distress for Bibles and Prayer Books, not having had a supply for several years'; and a supply was sent in the following year.

No doubt it was extremely repugnant to the feelings of the Directors to be obliged to be so illiberal. The financial pressure, which made them so, was relieved in 1799 when Tippoo Sultan was defeated and slain, and his territory annexed by the Company. As soon as the relief came the old spirit of liberality re-asserted itself. From time to time since then there have been periods of strict economy and care; but there has been no period equal to that between 1782 and 1799 for the depth of its commercial depression and for the emptiness of the Fort St. George treasury.

Up to 1785 the office of undertaker was held by one of the junior civil servants, who was appointed by the local Government and paid 25 pagodas a month out of the Company's treasury. In 1785 Mr. H. Michell, who held the office, asked to be relieved of it. The Government thereupon took the opportunity[2] of placing it at the disposal of the Chaplains, with the kindly thought of increasing the allowances of one or both of them. The duty and the pay attached to it remained with them until the Directors were able to arrange for a scale of pay which rendered this and other local allowances unnecessary. The office was held by the Rev. B. Millingchamp from 1785 to 1789, by Dr. Andrew Bell from then till 1794, and by Dr. R. H. Kerr from that date till 1805. After this date the work was left entirely to private enterprise.

In 1789 Benjamin Millingchamp applied for leave to

[1] Consultations, 20 Feb. 1801.

[2] Do. 27 August 1785.

Europe with a medical certificate. The leave with a free passage home *viâ* China was granted. Richard Leslie thus became the Senior Chaplain[1]; and Andrew Bell, a Chaplain who came out in the Rose, and was desired in 1787 to remain at Fort St. George because so 'eminently qualified to superintend the education of youth,'[2] was appointed Junior Chaplain. When the Madras Government wrote to the Directors and reported the grant of leave to Millingchamp, they added[3]:—

'Mr. Millingchamp has conducted himself with so much propriety during his residence at this settlement that we beg leave to request he may have your permission to return in case he should apply to you on the re-establishment of his health.'

The door was thus left open for him to return; whilst Dr. Bell was appointed to his place. Though Dr. Bell was originally recommended to the notice of the Government by the Ministers and Churchwardens of St. Mary's,[4] he was one of those men who by their talents and address recommend themselves. The Government soon discovered his value; and in order to retain his services, they appointed[5] him Chaplain to one of the Battalions of Europeans 'till the Court's pleasure is known.' Their satisfaction with him as a clergyman and as a schoolmaster continued; so that they wrote again six months later,[6] and strongly recommended him for the first vacant Chaplainship. To this the Directors replied as follows[7]:—

'Although we have received a very respectable character of the Rev. Dr. Bell, whom you have appointed Chaplain to one of the Battalions of Europeans, yet in order to preserve our own consistency, and . . . . to maintain and enforce our repeated orders relative to appointments under the Company being conferred on persons who have no authority from us for remaining in India, we cannot give our confirmation to that appointment, however highly the Doctor's abilities may

[1] Consultations, 14 July 1789.
[2] Letter Home, 17 July 1787, 44.
[3] Do. 27 July 1789, 21, Pub.
[4] Consultations, 9 July 1797.
[5] Letter Home, 16 Oct. 1787, 42, 43.
[6] Do. 1 Mar. 1788, 63, Pub.
[7] Despatch, 8 April 1789, 47, Mil.

stand. In thus putting a negative on Dr. Bell's appointment, you will see that we are determined to preserve the nomination to employments in the various departments of the service exclusively in the Court of Directors, in whom the law has vested that authority. At the same time we think it will operate to the prevention of persons of every description from getting out to India in a surreptitious manner with a view to obtaining employment under the Company; a practise which we are determined to discountenance to the utmost of our power.'

Before this letter reached Fort St. George Bell had been appointed Junior Chaplain at the Presidency. When it did arrive, the Madras Government paid no immediate attention to it. If the Directors had sent out another Chaplain to supersede Dr. Bell, the Government would have been obliged to dispense with his services. But they wanted a second Chaplain; so they retained his services till his successor appeared. In the mean time Dr. Bell's friends in England had been using their influence to obtain the Directors' consent to his appointment at Fort St. George, and were successful; so that in December 1789 the Directors wrote [1]:—

'Since writing Para 47 of our Military Despatch of the 8th April 1789 we have on further consideration thought fit to appoint [*then these words erased* 'in compliment to our late Chairman Nathanael Smith Esquire, who has produced the usual testimonials,'] the Rev. Dr. Andrew Bell, to be one of the Company's Chaplains at Fort St. George.'

This solved a local difficulty to the satisfaction of the Government of Fort St. George; but this was all the reply they gave [2]:—

'You have been already informed that Dr. Bell was appointed Chaplain on the Rev. Mr. Millingchamp's departure for Europe';

as if they thought that they had nothing particular to be thankful for in so tardy an appointment for work which they knew to be crying out for the doing.

[1] Despatch, 2 Dec. 1789, 7, Pub. [2] Letter Home, 18 Sept. 1790, 7, Pub.

At the beginning of 1791[1] the Government appointed Archdeacon Richard Leslie Chaplain to the 3rd Regiment of European Infantry, until the Court's pleasure was known. This appointment, like a similar one held by Dr. Bell, was a local device to increase the pay of the Chaplains. The Battalions were not at Fort St. George; no regular pastoral duty with them was possible simultaneously with duty at the Presidency; but the appointments enabled the Chaplains to draw some pay in addition to the slender allowance under the Company's rules, and obliged them to visit the Battalions occasionally. For some time past the Government had been anxious about the religious and moral condition of the officers and men of their European Regiments; and had already begun to do what the Directors would not do, appoint Chaplains to stations and regiments outside the limits of the Presidency town. As we have seen, the S.P.C.K. Missionaries were made use of for this purpose and paid. It was a great necessity, though the Directors repudiated the obligation. In August 1790 the Government of Madras appointed the Rev. Dr. Wells, Chaplain to Commodore Cornwallis, to be Chaplain to the 1st Battalion of European Infantry, and wrote to the Directors informing them of the appointment.[2] This announcement caused some commotion in Leadenhall Street. It was not only that an appointment had been made without the Directors' previous sanction—not merely that the Madras Government had usurped their function as nominators and appointers—but it was a new departure in policy in the South of India. Bengal had military Chaplains as well as those at the Presidency; but then Bengal could pay for them. The Madras revenues were hardly sufficient to meet the necessary military and naval expenditure. From the business point of view the cases were not similar. Christian and moral teaching are luxuries, and must be withheld if they cannot be paid for. Consequently the first draft of the reply[3] ran as follows:—'we do not think proper to confirm the appointment of Dr. Wells . . . . he must therefore immediately relinquish that appointment.' But

[1] Letter Home, 21 Jan. 1791, 30, Mil. [2] Do. 16 Sept. 1790, 72, Mil.
[3] Despatch, 6 May 1791, 19, Mil.

better counsels prevailed; and the paragraph was altered thus:—

'We have lately had under our consideration letters from the Revd. Dr. Wells, Chaplain to Commodore Cornwallis, requesting to be appointed a Chaplain at one of the Company's Presidencies, and we came to the resolution not to comply therewith. We do not however object to your late appointment of Dr. Wells to the Chaplainship of the 1st Regiment of European Infantry.'

The month before this Despatch was sent the Directors wrote to Fort St. George to inform the local Government that they had permitted the Rev. B. Millingchamp to return to his duty as Senior Chaplain.[1] He arrived in August. On his arrival Leslie and Bell wrote a joint letter to the Governor in Council, expressing a hope that they would not be affected by Millingchamp's return; but that the rule of other Departments would be followed, by which Millingchamp would be placed below them in rank and appointment.[2] Mr. Millingchamp was called in to state his case. He represented that he took leave subject to the understanding from the Council that he would return as he left. Before returning he consulted some of the senior members of the Directorate as to his returning as he left, and was assured that there would be no difficulty. The Governor in Council decided that as the Court of Directors permitted him to return and to hold his former situation, their duty was to obey the Court's order. As Dr. Bell had been regularly appointed on the Madras establishment, he was retained on it. And the Government made the following appointments.

Benjamin Millingchamp, Senior Chaplain of St. Mary's.
Richard Leslie Junior do. do.
Dr. Bell, Dr. Wells } to be Brigade Chaplains.
The Senior Chaplain to be Chaplain of Vellore.
The Junior Chaplain to be Chaplain of the Army, without interfering with the Brigades.

Having made this arrangement the Madras Government wrote home[3] that they had carried out the Directors' orders

[1] Despatch, 6 April 1791, 2, Pub. [2] Consultations, 30 Aug. 1791.
[3] Letter Home, 15 Sept. 1791, 15, 16, Pub.

with regard to Millingchamp, and added ;—'But as Dr. Bell was appointed in addition to Mr. Millingchamp and Mr. Leslie, who then composed the establishment, we do not consider it to be your intention to interfere with that nomination.'

The arrangement of the Government was not altogether satisfactory. The Senior Chaplain asked that the position, rank, and duties of the three Chaplains should be defined. Dr. Bell's position on the establishment must be recognised; as well as the necessity of his living in Madras to carry on the superintendence of the Male Asylum, which had been his work since his arrival on the coast. As a Chaplain on the establishment it was necessary also that he should have a share of the allowances and the duties reserved for Chaplains, including the duty of ministering at St. Mary's Church. Accordingly the Government defined the position, rank, and duties thus [1] :—

B. Millingchamp,	Senior at Fort St. George and Chaplain of Vellore.
R. Leslie,	2nd at Fort St. George and Chaplain of the 3rd Battalion of Europeans at Vellore.
A. Bell,	Junior at Fort St. George, Chaplain of the Army, and Superintendent of the Undertaker's department.

Mr. Torriano, the Paymaster at Vellore, declined to give Archdeacon Leslie his Vellore pay without direct orders from Government. Leslie therefore wrote a dignified letter [2] to the Governor in Council, asking that he might either receive the pay of his new appointment or else be restored to his old appointment now held by Dr. Bell. The Council agreed that Mr. Leslie be allowed to draw the pay; and they also agreed to state to the Court of Directors the impropriety of the custom 'which has long obtained' of providing for their Chaplains at the Presidency by nomination to garrisons and corps where they cannot perform any duties; and to represent how much more eligible it would be that they should have their present or any other allowances the Court might think reasonable as fixed salaries.

They reported the arrangement they had made about the

[1] Consultations, 16 Sept. 1791. [2] Do. 28 Oct. 1791.

duties and rank of the Chaplains in their letter home[1]; and represented the impropriety of nominations to garrisons and corps as they resolved. Archdeacon Leslie sent a memorial to the Directors through the local Government on the same subject, asking that the pay should be consolidated, and the various allowances abolished. The Government forwarded the memorial and recommended it to the consideration of the Court.[2] The Directors considered the matter, and replied as follows[3]:—

'As you have stated to us the impropriety of the custom which has long prevailed of providing for our Chaplains at your Presidency by nominations to garrisons and corps, where they cannot perform any duties, we direct that in lieu of such nominal appointments the Chaplains do receive the following salaries,

Senior Chaplain . .	165 Pagodas a month.	
2nd do. . .	160 do.	
3rd do. . .	150 do.	and 25 Pagodas a month for the direction of the undertaker's employ.

'We further direct that upon the death or resignation of either of the present Chaplains, the establishment of Chaplains at your Presidency shall consist only of two persons as formerly.'

The Government communicated the new arrangement as to pay to the three Chaplains in August 1793. Probably through ignorance and without intention the Directors had actually largely reduced the pay of the Chaplains; they had abolished the nominal appointments without raising the pay in compensation to their equivalent. The Chaplains were aghast. Archdeacon Leslie applied for permission to join the army in the Field; but was refused. They then wrote and asked the Government to give the most liberal interpretation possible to the Court's orders; and allow them to draw their old pay as Chaplains, and in addition the fixed allowances mentioned by the Directors in lieu of their former nominal appointments.

[1] Letter, 16 Jan. 1792, 34, Pub. [2] Letter, 25 May 1792, 29, Pub.
[3] Despatch, 19 March 1793, 11, 12, Pub.

The order was clearly capable of this interpretation; and the Government decided to adopt it.[1] By this decision each Chaplain received £100 a year together with the fixed allowances. Reduced to rupees the monthly pay was this :—

Senior .	Rs. 650 + the Church Lodgings free.
2nd . .	Rs. 583 + £100 a year for superintending the School.
Junior .	Rs. 548 + Pags. 25 a month for superintending the undertaker's work.

At the end of 1791 there were three Chaplains at the Presidency, and one, Dr. Wells, with one of the European regiments. When Millingchamp returned as Senior Chaplain at Fort St. George, he wrote[2] to the Churchwardens and Parishioners informing them of his re-appointment by the Board of Directors, and asking for a continuance of their favour. The Churchwardens called a special Vestry meeting, to consider the question of re-appointing him as Senior Minister of St. Mary's, and restoring to him the Church lodgings. There was some opposition to the re-appointment, for the reason that Leslie, who was a general favourite, would be displaced. Consequently there was a larger Vestry meeting on the 22nd Sept. 1791 than there had been for many years. The following attended, the two Ministers Leslie and Bell, the Senior Churchwarden William Duffin, the Junior Sidesman Lawrence Bowden, the Governor Sir Charles Oakeley, and twenty others—of whom two were in the military service of the Company, eleven in the civil service, and the rest were free merchants. It would have been a regrettable circumstance if, by neglect of attendance, the servants of the Company had allowed the Vestry to pass a resolution declining to recognise Mr. Millingchamp as the senior minister of the Parish, after the Directors had permitted him to return to Fort St. George as the Senior Chaplain. The other ministers had no personal feeling against him; they liked him; but they disliked losing their position and their allowances, and they had their friends. So this memorable Vestry, composed of 25 of the leading people in the settlement met, and agreed by a majority of votes that Millingchamp 'should be allowed

[1] Consultations, 17 Aug. and 27 Sept. 1793.
[2] Vestry Proceedings, 22 Sept. 1791.

to officiate as first minister of this parish,' and that the Church Lodgings were to be given up to him as such.

Mr. Andrew Ross submitted a minute of dissent.

1. His opinion was that a third incumbent was more than was necessary for the work of the parish; and his experience of the needs of the parish extended to near 40 years.

2. There had never been more than two; two was the established custom, and the law of the parish.

3. That though Mr. Millingchamp had been re-entertained as a Chaplain in the service of the Hon. Company, that re-appointment did not entitle him to become Minister of this parish, nor to supersede the present incumbents; the two positions of Chaplain to the Company and Minister of this parish being distinct and independent of one another.

4. The inhabitants have an independent right to choose their own Ministers, as the Church was erected at their own cost and charges (he quoted Burn's Eccl. Law).

5. The present incumbents ought not to be deprived of their position and rights when no charge is brought against them.

6. The present measure is an infringement of the rights of the parishioners and Vestry; and injurious to the present incumbents who have to share the emoluments between three persons instead of two.

7. As to the Lodgings—although they have always gone to the senior Minister, delicacy to the present occupant should prevent his present removal.

Andrew Ross had served the office of Sidesman and Churchwarden, and had for many years attended Vestry meetings and helped to administer the Vestry funds; he was a man of great public spirit and usefulness; and in this case his intention was good. But his whole contention was a mistake. The appointment and all it involved was one which the parishioners in Vestry assembled could make or not make, as they pleased; they chose to make it.

The Ministers and Churchwardens acquired a 99 years' lease of the ground in Middle Gate Street in the year 1780; and they partially rebuilt the school house. In 1785 their renewed building, which consisted of patches of new work grafted on to old work in a state of decay, collapsed and

became more or less a heap of ruins. A special Vestry was held on the 15 December to consider what should be done. Colonel Patrick Ross, the Chief Engineer, pronounced it to be 'beyond the power of any artist to ensure the duration of the building by any repair'[1]; and he gave an estimate for re-building amounting to Pagodas 2300. The Vestry approved the plan, and resolved to ask the Government to assist to carry it out on the ground that the Charity Fund could not then bear the expense. It was mentioned at the meeting that the Vestry had paid Pagodas 700 for the rebuilding of the front part now in ruins just three years before. They further resolved to borrow Pagodas 1000 if necessary from the Native Poor Fund Committee at 8 per cent. And they sanctioned the arrangements which the Ministers and Churchwardens had made for the carrying on of the school in a rented house in Black Town.

When they made their appeal to the Government the Ministers and Churchwardens sent an extract from the minutes of the Vestry, a copy of Col. Ross' letter and estimate, and added:—'but as various disbursements for the support of widows and orphans, and more particularly the education and maintenance of the children of the Hon. Company's soldiers, render the Fund inadequate to so heavy an expense without breaking in upon the principal, it was resolved to address the Hon. Board for their assistance to enable us to carry the plan into effect, and to acquaint them that the expense would fall particularly hard upon the Fund at present, as it is scarcely three years since the parish paid Pagodas 700' etc. The Governor (Sir Archibald Campbell) and Council were kind; they knew all about the Charity Fund, and the good it was doing; they made no difficulties; they permitted a party wall which was in the way to be pulled down[2]; it was the worst possible time to ask for money, but they cheerfully did what they could, and voted Pagodas 500 from the Cash to assist the rebuilding.[3] By the end of the year Mr. James Stringer, the Company's Master bricklayer[4] had completed the new building, and

[1] Vestry Proceedings, 15 Dec. 1785. [2] Consultations, 12 Aug. 1786.
[3] Do. 6 Oct. 1786, and Despatch, 31 July 1787, 83.
[4] In modern language architect and builder.

received in payment 2300 pagodas together with a present of 230 pagodas for himself; of which sum 500 pagodas were generously paid by the Government and the rest by the Church Charity Fund. When the Government resumed the land and the building in 1891, no consideration was given for the original expenditure over the latter, nor for the sums periodically expended over its repair. There was no legal nor customary necessity to give any consideration; but the giving would have been a generous acknowledgement of a voluntary charitable effort to benefit the Eurasian class; and it would have further assisted that effort. The trustees were dispossessed just like ordinary leaseholders on the expiry of a lease, as if they had been occupiers in their own interests only, and had personally profited by the terms of the lease.

The St. Mary's Burial Ground was handed over to the Ministers and Churchwardens in 1763. No burial ground in India was in more constant use between that date and the end of the century. During the first eight years, that is to the end of 1770, there were 711 burials of European civilians, soldiers, sailors, their wives and children. During the next ten years there were 1424 burials. During the next ten years there were 2415 burials; and during the next ten years there were 1914. There has never been so great a number since. The necessity of a large naval and military force in the south of India was done away with when Seringapatam fell. The local Government built the walls and handed the ground over to the Vestry. The Vestry took charge; instituted a ground fee for the benefit of the Charity School; and all matters connected with it were discussed and settled at the Vestry meetings. In 1786 the Chaplains and Churchwardens wrote to the Governor in Council, drawing attention to the ruinous state of the western wall, and requesting its repair [1]; but it was a bad time to ask for money, and no reply was given. Six years later another application was made; this time the required amount was mentioned; and the Government were asked to bear the expense of 116 pagodas for the purpose.[2] The reply was :—

[1] Consultations, 6 Oct. 1786. [2] Do. 27 March 1792.

'The Company have already incurred a great expense in constructing the wall of the Burying ground; and as the public exigencies require at present every pecuniary resource, the Board hope that the present charge will not subject the Church funds to any inconvenience.'

The Chaplains and Churchwardens replied[1] by again asking for assistance. They pleaded the full use of the fund at their disposal for school, poor, repairs of Church, and repairs of the Marmelong Bridge; they added that upon every former occasion the expenses of repairing the wall had been defrayed by Government. The Council thereupon agreed that the amount should be paid.

At the end of the year 1800 Mr. Archdeacon Leslie represented to the Vestry the need of enlargement; and complained of the picketing of horses close to the Cemetery wall.[2] It was therefore resolved to address the Government on both subjects. A letter was written; application was made for the addition to the cemetery of the contiguous space occupied by a powder magazine; and that some other place than the cemetery wall might be found for the officers' horses, 'which do it injury.'[3] The Government replied on the 9th Feb. that the removal of the magazine would be attended with inconvenience; but ordered the Chief Engineer in communication with the Chaplains and Churchwardens to prepare a plan for extension in some other direction. If one may judge by the dates of the monuments, the first extension of the St. Mary's Burial ground took place on the southern side. It has been extended since then on the west and the north sides.

In the year 1764 the Vestry agreed to entrust the collection of the double Sunday boat hire to the Master Attendant; it was also agreed that he should defray from the fund the cost of healing those boatmen who were injured or disabled in the exercise of their calling; and that he should pay the balance to the Vestry for the purpose for which the fund was instituted. The accounts were annually submitted to the Vestry till 1774, after which time they were dis-

[1] Consultations, 7 April 1792.
[2] Vestry Proceedings, Nov. 12 and Dec. 31, 1800.
[3] Consultations, 6 Feb. 1801.

continued. In 1784[1] the notice of the Vestry was drawn to the fact that no payment had been made for ten years; and it was agreed that the Churchwardens should find out the reason and report. Two years later the Churchwardens were requested to take measures to recover the old allowance.[2] A year later a similar resolution was passed. A year later the Churchwarden, T. Cockburn, expressed his regret that he had been unable to pursue the question. Mr. Nathaniel E. Kindersley succeeded him in December 1788, and at once began to make the enquiry. He laid on the table at the next Vestry meeting[3] some papers, from which it appeared that the enquiry had been opened by Mr. Churchwarden Josias Du Pré Porcher in the year 1786, and that the matter had been settled (as far as they could settle it) by the Revenue Board in that year without any reference to the Vestry. There were three documents:—

1. An extract from the minutes of the Board of Revenue, dated the 19 Oct. 1786; the Board, having before them the accounts of the Sea-customer, directed that the servants' wages should be reduced till the amount equalled the receipts from the sea customs; so that the Sunday Boat hire, which formerly went to the Church, should not be applied to the payment of the sea-side servants.

2. An extract from a letter from the Boat department to the Board of Revenue dated 31 Oct. 1786. The writer said that what had been called the Church money (the extra hire for boats on Sunday) was really a fund for the maintenance of invalid boatmen; it was formerly in the hands of the Churchwardens, but had lately been managed by the Customs department. He added that the fund amounted last year to 684 pagodas; and that after paying the invalid boat people there was a surplus of 254 pagodas. He suggested that the fund might be reserved for paying the servants of the Boat department till required for the purpose for which it was originally intended.

3. An extract from a letter from the Board of Revenue to the Customs department, dated 4 Nov. 1786. 'As it appears

[1] Vestry Proceedings, 30 Dec. 1784. [2] Do. 29 Dec. 1786.
[3] Do. 31 Dec. 1789.

that the Church money is appropriated to the pay of invalid boatmen, the Board consent to the management of it remaining in your department; a report is to be sent annually of the receipts and disbursements, and the balance to be kept for the expense of the sea side servants.'

The explanation of the Customs department shows what short memories there are of historical events in India. But the Vestry had to consider whether this fund, which was originally intended for the European poor of the settlement, should be applied to its original purpose, or be used for some other purpose. It was not merely a question as to who should manage it, but to what purpose it should be put. The Vestry had of its own accord in 1765 decided to give a portion of it for the care of injured boatmen. They therefore resolved [1] to represent to the Government the origin of the Fund, and to ask the Government to restore to the Vestry what they originally and long possessed, the disposal of it; to inform the Government that the Vestry would continue to pay the invalid boatmen, and would apply the surplus to the original charitable purpose of the assessment. Nothing was done in 1790, nor in 1791, no[r in] 1792. The money was being used by the Boat depart[me]nt to pay its boatmen; and times were so bad that the Government was glad to have the use of the money for the purpose. The Churchwardens knew all the circumstances and remained quiet, waiting for better times. In 1792 the financial pressure was relieved by the defeat of Tippoo Sultan and the annexation of half his dominions. And in 17[9]3 the Vestry agreed th[at] the time had come to reopen the [qu]estion, and to address [t]he President and Council signifying their wish that the fund should [b]e managed as at first, and for the purpose originally intende[d]. Accordingly a letter [2] was written, explaining th[at th]e Sun[day] boat money was originally allowed fo[r the] [...] poor of the parish, and not for the purpos[e of in]valid boatmen, which was an afterthought; [...] mention of it in the Church Books was in 175[...] part of it was applied to invalid boatmen until 176[...] was done by a resolution of the Vestry.

[1] Vestry Proceedings, 31 De[...] [2] Do. 14 Feb. 1793.

This letter called forth a reply from the Government without much [1] delay. The Hon. the President in Council admitted that on reference to the records the extra hire for boats employed on Sundays was originally granted by Government to the support of the Charity School; that in 1764 the Vestry consented to admit invalid boatmen to its benefit; that in 1774 it was resolved by the Government at that time to apply the whole to the relief of disabled boatmen. The President in Council was of opinion that the alteration ought not to have been made by the Government without the consent of the Vestry. He was prepared to restore to the Vestry the custody of the fund, provided the Vestry would continue the charity to the boatmen of the Boat department; he would order the money to be paid monthly in future to the Churchwardens, upon an assurance from the Vestry that they would continue the present allowances to disabled boatmen, and admit others as necessity required; the St. Mary's Charity Fund to have the benefit [2] of any increment. A list of 70 boatmen was appended, showing that they drew allowances amounting to 45 pagodas a month. It was agreed to accept the conditions,[3] and to leave the President in Council to fill the vacancies. This arrangement continued for two years; the Vestry giving gratuities and allowances to injured boatmen to the monthly extent of 45 pagodas, and crediting the rest to the Church Fund for the benefit of the European poor and the European school. In 1795 Mr. William Abbott, who was both Churchwarden and Deputy Master Attendant, wrote to the President in Council and expressed an opinion that the whole fund should be expended over the injured boatmen. The request was considered in Council, and the following letter [4] was sent to the Ministers and Churchwardens:—

'I am directed b[illegible] the President in Council to send for your info[illegible] f a letter addressed to his Lordship by the D[illegible]r Attendant, and to express to you his Lordship's [illegible] (as Mr. Abbott states) the fund for the support [illegible] boatmen exceeds the monthly

[1] Vestry Proceedings, 28[illegible]
[2] Consultations, Mar. 1793.
[3] Vestry Proceedings, 1[illegible]
[4] Consultations, 7 Nov. 1795.

pension granted to the present incumbents you will have no hesitation in extending relief to objects who appear to have unquestionable claims upon humanity.'

A special Vestry was called to consider this letter; and it was agreed that all who appeared to the Council objects of charity should be received on the list of boat pensioners, according to the agreement of 1793 with its limitations.[1] The Vestry accounts show that the Sunday boat money was regularly paid until the year 1800. The Governor then wrote to enquire what the average monthly amount was which was credited to the St. Mary's Church Charity Fund after the payment of all the boatmen's pensions. It was found to be 32 Pags. 27 Fanam 58 Cash. The Government then ordered that this amount was to be paid to the Church Fund monthly from the Treasury; and that the Sunday boat fund was to be put entirely into the hands of the Port authorities.[2] Thus ended the connection between Sunday boat hire and the Church Charity Fund.

As the Company had of necessity to pay the whole cost of a British regiment whilst in their service they exercised the right of sanctioning its strength of officers and men. In their Despatch of the 11 April 1785 they agreed that every European cavalry regiment and infantry battalion should have a Chaplain. When the regiments went out, however, they went without one, one after another. There were two Hanoverian regiments in the service; these were accompanied by Chaplains; for when the regiments returned to Europe in 1791 and 1793 the Rev. Mr. Holscher is named as returning with one of them, and an unnamed Chaplain is mentioned as returning with the other.[3] The appointment of Dr. Andrew Bell as Chaplain of one of the European battalions in 1787, though complained of by the Directors, was really covered by the sanction contained in the Despatch of 1785, unless they sanctioned under pressure a Chaplain for the King's regiments without any intention of appointing one for their own. The same Despatch was recl[illegible]ed to justify the appointment

[1] Vestry Proceedings, 1[illegible]95.
[2] Consultations, 19 M[illegible]estry Proceedings, 5 May 1800.
[3] Letters Home[illegible]l., and 30 Jan. 1793, 83, Mil.

of Dr. George Wells to the Chaplaincy of the 1st European infantry in 1789. Emboldened by the sanction given to their proceedings the Madras Government appointed Mr. R. H. Kerr, another naval Chaplain, to be Chaplain to the European 4th Battalion at Ellore [1]; and Mr. Roger Owen, another naval Chaplain, to a similar appointment with the 3rd European Battalion at Pondicherry in the following year.[2] The Directors on receiving the news of Kerr's appointment, wrote [3]:—

'After the strong disapprobation expressed in our letter of the 8th April 1789 of the appointment of the Rev. Dr. Bell to a Chaplainship under your Presidency, wherein you were advised of our determination to preserve the nomination to employments in the various departments of the service exclusively in the Court of Directors, we feel very much displeased at your recent appointment of the Rev. Mr. Kerr to be Chaplain to the 4th Battalion of European Infantry stationed at Ellore. The necessity of such an appointment should in the first instance have been represented to us. We feel ourselves therefore impelled to revoke the appointment of Mr. Kerr; and shall send out a person of our own nomination to supply his place.'

On receipt of this despatch the Governor and Council put it aside; they communicated its contents to Kerr and Owen, but they kept them working at Ellore and at Pondicherry till further orders. After waiting seven months they wrote the following reply [4]:—

'We are concerned to find that your Hon. Court have expressed your disapprobation of the appointment of the Rev. Mr. Kerr to be Chaplain to the 4th Battalion of Europeans stationed at Ellore; and the more so as we had lately conferred a similar appointment on the Rev. Mr. Owen, who came out Chaplain to the Suffolk, and was recommended by the Commodore.

'The late Government,[5] considering the propriety of not leaving the European Battalions without Chaplains, had

[1] Letter Home, 2 May 1793, 28, Mil. [2] Do. 4 Mar. 1795, 31, Mil.
[3] Despatch, 21 May 1794, 64, Mil. [4] ... Home, 4 Mar. 1795, 31–34, Mil.
[5] The government of Sir Charles ... Lord Hobart became Governor in 1794.

agreed to the appointment of Mr. Kerr, of whose character and qualifications very favourable mention had been made, (having received no intimation of its being the intention of your Hon. Court to fill up the situation to one of the regiments which had been vacant for some years,) under the impression of its being indispensably necessary so to do; and the appointment of Mr. Owen was made from similar motives.

'The President, at the time Commodore Rainier recommended the appointment of Mr. Owen, enquired of the Secretary whether there were any particular objections to the measure; and the Secretary, not at the moment recollecting your orders in the year 1789 respecting Dr. Bell, but having fresh in his mind the appointment of Mr. Kerr, and the strong recommendation of it to your Hon. Court, answered generally that he knew not of any.

'We have in consequence of your orders annulled the appointments of Messieurs Kerr and Owen, but have permitted them to act until persons be sent from England to supply their places, or until the further pleasure of your Hon. Court be known; and you may be assured that we shall be particularly careful that no such appointment be made in future.'

The matter being put in that way, the Directors had to consider not whether the Madras Government had exceeded its powers and usurped their functions, but whether the appointments of Chaplains to military stations ought or ought not to be made. Taking into consideration that a former Madras Government had strongly urged the necessity, they acquiesced, and wrote on the 17 Feb. 1796 appointing Roger Owen and Richard Hall Kerr Chaplains on the Madras establishment.[1]

On the receipt of these orders Kerr was advised. Whilst on their way out Owen fell ill and applied for leave. As Millingchamp and Bell had just gone to Europe, the leave was refused. Owen thereupon resigned the service and took a passage home; but he died at sea on the 13 Sept. 1796.

Two months after sanctioning the appointments of Kerr and Owen the Directors wrote another despatch on ecclesiastical matters, and said[2] :—

'We have taken into consideration the state of the clergy

[1] See also De[illegible]tch, 22 April 1796, 7, Mil.
[2] Desp[illegible]il 1796, 10–12, Pub.

at your Presidency and are of opinion that the number should be six, and stationed with the following allowances; two civil Chaplains at the Presidency, one of whom is to perform the duties of the Garrison; the Senior to have 2500 Pagodas per annum; the Junior to have 2125 Pagodas per annum together with the allowance of 25 Pags. a month for directing the undertakers employ; and four military Chaplains for the principal stations of the army.

'It has been suggested to us that the number of Chaplains at your Presidency ought to be increased; we therefore direct that you report to us whether there be any necessity for augmenting the number.'

So in the middle of 1796 Leslie became the senior civil Chaplain, and Kerr the junior; and there was a promise of four military Chaplains besides. A great deal had been said in England to produce this result; part was true, but part was untrue. The Directors neither did all they could nor all they should; they neither built Churches nor appointed an adequate number of Chaplains; but a great deal that was said and written against them, and their servants abroad at this period was an exaggeration of the real facts of the case. The Europeans in the Madras Service were not without Churches in the larger stations nor without religious ministrations. Assisted by the local Government they looked after themselves, and supplied their own needs in both respects. The Company was justly blamed for doing less than they ought to have done; their inaction in the southern Presidency was neutralised by other circumstances.

To prevent accidents the spire of the Church, damaged in the siege of 1758–9, was taken down soon after the siege was raised; but the tower remained intact. In 1787 the Government obtained the consent of the Vestry to erect a flag signal staff on the top of the tower,[1] which remained in position till the rebuilding of the spire commenced. The question of rebuilding had to slumber from 1776 till 1792.

At that date the Vestry rightly thought that the question might be reopened. The Governor himself presided at the Vestry meeting when this was done.[2] He reported that he had instructed Major Maule to prepare a design and estimate.

[1] Vestry Proceedings, 29 Dec. 1787. [2] Do. 29 Dec. 1792.

These were submitted to the Vestry; the estimate amounted to 3000 Pagodas; it was resolved to apply to the Government for as large a share of the estimate as possible, since the Church Fund was almost entirely exhausted by the current needs of the Church, the school, and the poor. The application came before the Council a month later[1]; and the following decision was arrived at:—

'It appearing upon reference to have been customary for the Company to defray the expense of repairing the Church, Agreed to inform the Ministers and Churchwardens that as their funds are not adequate to the charge of rebuilding the steeple, Government consent to contribute 2000 pagodas.'

The references made must have been to the expenditure over the repairs ten years before, after the Church had been used as a store-house; for with that exception the Government had neither done repairs nor paid for them. However, it was good of the Governor, Sir Charles Oakeley, and the Council to have made the grant, though the reason given for it was at fault. When the Council wrote home to report what they had done, they omitted the reason given and said[2]:—

'At a late meeting of the parish Vestry it was determined to rebuild the steeple of St. Mary's Church, which had been taken down many years ago in consequence of the dammage it suffered during the siege of Madras; but the funds of the Church not being adequate to this undertaking the Minister and Churchwardens addressed us a letter, requesting our assistance in effecting the wish of the community, estimating the expense of the work at 3000 Star Pagodas.

'As we found on reference to our records that a former Government had agreed to bear the charge of repairing the steeple; and as the present call upon us was to assist in replacing a work that had been destroyed by the effect of war, we judged it reasonable to comply with the solicitation, and resolved in consequence to contribute the sum of 2000 pagodas on this account, which we trust you will approve.'

The Directors replied[3] that for the reasons stated they approved of the resolution to make the contribution.

[1] Consultations, 18 Jan. 1793. [2] Letters Home, 28 Jan. 1793, 48, 49, Pub.
[3] Despatch, 23 April, 1794, 29, Pub.

At the beginning of the year 1794 the Vestry applied to the Government to assist them by giving in advance half the promised grant.[1] This was done. Everything was now in readiness for the commencement of the work with one exception. Major Maule, the Engineer, who had carefully designed and estimated the cost of the work, was no longer alive to carry out the work. He was appointed Chief Engineer at the Siege of Pondicherry in 1793, and promoted to a Lieut. Colonelcy; and was killed by a round shot at the beginning of the siege. Almost his last work in Fort St. George was to compose by request the epitaph on the monument of his friend Lieut. Col. Moorhouse in St. Mary's Church.[2] The Vestry invited [3] Lieut. Col. Gent, his successor as Chief Engineer, to superintend the work; this he consented to; and they formed a committee to confer with him consisting of the senior minister (B. Millingchamp), the two wardens (John Tulloh and William Abbott), and the two sidesmen (Charles Baker and Daniel Ince). Colonel Gent lost no time in preparing a fresh design and estimate.[4] The latter, which amounted to 2552 Pagodas including the scaffolding, is interesting as perhaps laying bare the secret of the hardness and binding character of the cement of that period. The estimated amount of stone and shell chunam necessary was 2400 parahs; and immediately underneath was this item, 'Jaggary 11 candies.' On the completion of the work Col. Gent wrote and informed the Vestry, and asked for some remuneration for his extra work by a percentage or otherwise. It was resolved to present him with the scaffolding, which was valued at 500 pagodas; and the gift was gratefully accepted.[5]

Whilst the rebuilding of the steeple was in abeyance owing to the death of Lt. Col. Maule, and the absence of any competent engineer to carry out the work, it was suggested by some one that instead of rebuilding a steeple, a lighthouse should be built on the Church tower. The suggestion took shape; and being brought to the notice of the Council at the end of 1794, it was adopted by them. Sir Charles Oakeley

[1] Vestry Proceedings, 15 Jan. 1794.
[2] Letters Home, 30 Jan. 1793, 70, Mil.
[3] Vestry Proceedings, 11 and 12 Feb. 1795. [4] Do. 1 April and 17 June 1795.
[5] Do. 3 Nov. and 29 Dec. 1796.

had given up the reins of Government to Lord Hobart. The following letter was written by the Government to the Ministers at the beginning at 1795[1] :—

'I am directed to inform you that a proposal has been made to the Rt. Hon. the President in Council for the erection of a lighthouse on the steeple of St. Mary's Church; and as many public advantages may be expected from such a measure, his Lordship feels every disposition to adopt it, unless there should be any solid objection of which he is not at present aware. Before however his ultimate sanction be passed, he thinks it proper that his wishes should be communicated to the Chaplains.'

As the letter was addressed to the Ministers only, it was not placed before a Vestry meeting, but was replied to by the three Chaplains. If a meeting of the inhabitants had been called they would probably have had something to say about the Governor's proposal to build upon and make use of a structure which did not belong to the Government. The independent merchants, headed by Mr. Andrew Ross, were very tenacious of their rights in the Church and its concerns. The Chaplains however replied by themselves thus[2] :—

'We have had the honour to receive a letter intimating that a proposal' etc. . . . .

'It therefore becomes our duty to state to your Lordship that at the dedication of St. Mary's when the Rev. Richard Portman received the Church as a sacred charge and free will offering from the Governor of Fort St. George . . . and the other contributors to the expense of the building, the parties respectively promised for themselves and their successors "to refuse and to renounce to put the Church or any part of it to any profane or common use whatsoever."

'We beg leave to add that the parishioners assembled in Vestry on the 12th instant requested the Chief Engineer to superintend the building of a spire agreeably to a former resolution sanctioned by the Court of Directors and by Government.'

This was signed by Millingchamp, Leslie and Bell.

Having once commenced the burial of the bodies of

[1] Consultations, 14 Feb. 1795. [2] Do. 27 Feb. 1795.

distinguished persons in the Church, the Ministers and Churchwardens found it very difficult to stop it. Major-General Sir John Burgoyne, Bart., Colonel of H.M.'s 23rd Light Dragoons, died in September 1785. Application was made to the Chaplains and wardens for intramural interment; after having broken the old rule they were not able to refuse; but they agreed that a rule ought to be established not to bury in the Church in the future. In September 1786 died Lieut. John Dalling, son of Sir John Dalling, the Commander-in-Chief of the Company's forces. The application in his case was refused.[1] In June 1787 Lt. Col. George Mackenzie, commanding the 71st Reg. at Wallajabad, a son of the Earl of Cromarty, died. The application in his case was refused.[1] In March 1791 the Government addressed a letter to the Vestry,[1] expressing a desire to bury the remains of Lt. Col. Moorhouse in the Church, and hoping that the Vestry would have no objection. The following resolution of the Council was enclosed:—

'Government having received advice of the death of Lt. Col. Moorhouse, who was killed in the assault of the Pettah of Bangalore on the 7th instant, resolved as a testimony of respect to the memory of an officer who has served the Company many years with distinguished zeal, spirit, and ability, that his remains, with the permission of the Ministers and Churchwardens, be publicly interred in the Church of Fort St. George, at the Company's expense, and a marble tablet fixed over his grave with a suitable inscription in commemoration of his merits. Resolved likewise that a letter be written to Lord Cornwallis to inform him of this intention, and to request his Lordship will be pleased to direct that the body of the late Lt. Col. Moorhouse be moved to the Presidency as soon as the situation of affairs will permit.'

At the Vestry held to consider the matter Archdeacon Leslie at first dissented on general grounds, and on the ground of former refusals; but he added that he was fully sensible of the merits of Col. Moorhouse; and that if the Vestry were of opinion that the request should be complied with, he would relinquish the right of refusal which, as

[1] Vestry Proceedings, 24 March 1791.

incumbent of the Church, he thought himself possessed of. The Vestry agreed to permit the interment and wrote accordingly.

On the 30 Sept. 1791 Lt. Col. Barry Close, Deputy Adj. General, wrote to the Military Board from camp that the remains of the late Lt. Col. Moorhouse had proceeded from Bangalore with a detachment for the Carnatic. The Board appointed a committee to arrange the details of the interment consisting of Colonel Capper, Mr. J. du Pré Porcher, Major Hall and Captain Gomonde.[1]

The Committee's arrangement was approved by the Governor in Council and carried out.[2] The gentlemen of the settlement assembled at the Freemasons' Hall, where the body rested. The Governor, Council and Major General Musgrave were the chief mourners. The members of the Grand Lodge of Freemasons, in compliance with their request walked in support of the chief mourners. The pall bearers were six Field officers. All these as well as the three Chaplains wore black silk scarves and hatbands; the rest of the gentlemen present being provided with muslin.

The military funeral party was under the command of Lt. Col. Collins.[3] It consisted of 13 officers and 200 men of H.M.'s 14th Hanoverians, and 6 officers and 100 men of the 2nd Battalion of the Company's European Infantry. The firing party numbered 100 Rank and File with the due number of commissioned and non-commissioned officers. When the procession arrived upon the Island near the north angle of the burying ground, a salute of 47 minute guns was commenced at the saluting battery. The solemnity of this craped procession, wending its way across the Island and through the Wallajah Gate to St. Mary's Church, in a hushed silence only broken by the minute guns, can be imagined. The personal sacrifice was acknowledged to be due to the memory of a gallant officer, a brave soldier, and a good man. Civil and military vied with one another in doing honour. And it may be regarded as an act of respectful homage to a consecrated building—a wiping out of the

[1] Military Consultations, 11 Oct. 1791. [2] Do. 29 Oct. 1791.
[3] Garrison orders, 31 Oct. 1791 (A. A. G.'s office, Fort St. George).

memory of former enforced desecrations—that in the opinion of all at the time, the highest honour they could confer upon his remains was to place them within its hallowed precincts. The Chaplains refused to accept any fee in connection with the burial,[1] and were thanked by the Government. And the Government wrote home[2] and reported that the gallant soldier's remains had been publicly interred in St. Mary's Church with the honours due to his rank and eminent services.

The following are the names of those whose remains rest or have rested in the Church[3]:—

1777. The Rt. Hon. Lord Pigot, Governor.
1783. Lieut. Gen. Sir Eyre Coote, C.-in-C. in India.
1785. Major Gen. Sir John Burgoyne, Bart.
1791. Lieut. Col. J. Moorhouse, Madras Artillery.
1796. Lady Hobart, wife of the Governor, and child.
1807. Lady Gwillim, wife of Sir Henry Gwillim, Puisne Judge.
1808. Jane Amelia, wife of Henry Russell, Member of Council, and sister in law of the Rt. Hon. Hugh Elliot, Governor.
1814. Vice Admiral Sir Samuel Hood, K.C.B.
1819. Margaret, wife of the Rt. Hon. Hugh Elliot, Governor.
1824. Lieut. Gen. Sir Alexander Campbell, Bart., K.C.B., C.-in-C.
1827. Major Gen. Sir Thomas Munro, Bart., K.C.B., Governor and C.-in-C.
1847. Lieut. Gen. Sir John Doveton, G.C.B.
1860. Sir Henry George Ward, G.C.M.G., Governor.
1875. The Rt. Hon. Lord Hobart, Governor.

Some of the early legacies and gifts to the Ministers and Churchwardens for the benefit of the School and the poor have been noticed. It is satisfactory to find that the early confidence of the community in the trustees continued during

[1] Military Consultations, 3 Jan. 1792.
[2] Letters Home, 16 Jan. 1792, 130, 131, Mil.
[3] *History of Fort St. George*, by Mrs. F. Penny.

the second half of the 18th century. The following are the legacies mentioned in the Vestry records:—

1. Nicholas Morse, formerly Governor, left 800 pagodas in 1773.

2. Col. John Wood, the gallant soldier and the kind friend of Schwartz, the designer and builder of Christ Church Trichinopoly, left 200 pagodas in 1776.

3. Robert Hughes left 180 pagodas in 1779.

4. Mrs. Isabella Croke left 150 pagodas in 1780.

5. James Stringer left 240 pagodas in 1781.

6. Samuel Troutbeck left 12,000 pagodas for founding a school and building a hospital in 1787. The executors were Lord Macartney, the Hon. Edward Monckton, Thomas Pelling and Edward Cotsford. Troutbeck had in his mind the Male Asylum, then about to be founded; but the money intended for it was never paid by the executors.

7. George Baker in 1799 left 1500 pagodas—500 pags. for the Church Stock; 500 pags. for the Male and Female Asylums in such proportions as the Vestry thought fit; and 500 pags. for the poor at Madras of any age, sex, nation or religion, to be expended by the Vestry at their discretion.

Larger and more important than all these bequests was that of a free merchant named James Wooley [1] in 1789; but his bequest was not to the Vestry trustees. He left £10,000 to his nephew John Weston Wooley, Ensign on the Madras Military establishment; £5000 to each of his nieces; and he provided for another nephew. These bequests were secured on a landed estate in Ireland. Cork is referred to elsewhere in the will. He left £20,000 to his friend Benjamin Roebuck; diamond rings of the value of £1000 each to his friends General Joseph Smith and Mr. John McPherson. He left similar handsome presents to his three executors, John Balfour, Nathaniel E. Kindersley, and Sir John Menzies. And then he continued, 'and it is my desire that the balance of my fortune after all legacies are paid shall be assigned to and vested by my executors in the hands of the Governor in Council of Madras for the time being, as a Charitable Fund,

[1] This is his own way of spelling his name both in the body and at the foot of the will.

appropriated to the education and provision (in such manner as they may think proper) of the children of distressed Europeans male and female.'

The residue of the estate was very large. The children of Europeans still enjoy the benefit of the legacy in various schools in the Presidency. James Wooley lived in Madras at a time when there was no nonconformist body in the country, and when we had no other relationship to the Roman Catholics but that of benevolent rule. But he did not restrict his bounty to the circumstances of the time; consequently European children who are Roman Catholics share it with European children who are not. The Government have full liberty of action.

Note.—John Balfour, one of the executors of James Wooley, was the great-grandfather of the two distinguished Cabinet Ministers of that name in the present day.

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CHAPTER XVIII

THE CHAPLAINS AND THEIR WORK FROM 1785 TO 1805—*cont.*

ONE of the results of paying the Chaplains an inadequately small stipend was the continual attempt on their part to increase it. When Stanley and Bainbrigge were at Fort St. George in 1780 they claimed fees for the breaking of ground in the cemetery. They had before them a bill from the undertaker for the funeral charges of a naval Chaplain,[1] which the Vestry undertook to pay. In that bill there was a charge of 3 pagodas for Churchwardens' fees; they were not aware that any charge was made for graves; but as soon as they discovered there was a regular charge they claimed it as the right of the Ministers. Bainbrigge made the claim at the next Vestry meeting,[2] and asked whether he should apply to the Churchwardens or the undertaker for the fees which had been collected during his incumbency. The Vestry knew nothing about the fees, and had to inquire about them and their origin; and when they found out that they had been originally levied for the benefit of the Church Charity Fund, they agreed that they should in future be given to the Fund. They resolved further that as fees had been collected in the past by the undertaker, and not paid over to the Churchwardens, they should be demanded as belonging to the Charity Fund.

A year later Mr. Bainbrigge renewed his application for the fees, claiming them as his by right; but the Vestry resolved that their last resolution should stand. They fully understood the motive of the application, and acquiesced in the justice of the plea; but thinking that the increase ought to come from surplice fees rather than from cemetery ground

[1] The Rev. Mr. John Cole, Chaplain H.M.S. Exeter; died 16 April 1780.
[2] Vestry Minutes, 15 Dec. 1780.

fees, they directed Mr. Bainbrigge to obtain from Bengal, Bombay and other English settlements the scale of fees which might have been established for the Chaplains at those places.

The result of this resolution was that the cemetery fees were continued to the Churchwardens; and so remained till the Vestry came to an end in 1805. Bainbrigge died in 1783 without reporting the result of his inquiries; and the surplice fees were left as before to the discretion of individuals instead of being established by the authority of the Vestry. At the end of 1784 the following minute was recorded by the Vestry[1]:—

'One of the gentlemen present suggested that the matter of surplice fees, which are the dues of the Chaplains, appears to require revision from circumstances which have come under his observation at different times; and as he thinks the meeting now being held is a fit time for bringing the matter forward, he submitted what had occurred to him to the judgement of the Vestry.

'The Vestry regard the matter as of great importance to the community at large; and think that a special Vestry should be called for the purpose of giving every parishioner the opportunity of being present; they agree to call a Special Vestry on the 18th January 1785, and to give notice of it everywhere within ten miles of the Fort.'

The minute implies irregularity in the levy of fees; it seems even to hint at extortion. It is quite certain from the evidence of the records that in the ten years preceding this some marriages had taken place in private houses instead of in the Church. It is quite possible that one or another of the Chaplains of the period, Stanley or Bainbrigge or both, originated a system of special license on their own authority, as a means of adding to their slender pay. This process and its accompanying fee could not have formed a subject of complaint; for it must have been entirely a matter of choice and not of compulsion to undergo it. No one could be bound to marry in an unusual way, and pay a high fee for the privilege. The complaint must have been one which concerned the parishioners in general.

[1] Vestry Proceedings, 30 Dec. 1784.

A Vestry was called; the notice was taken round and signed by the Governor, two members of Council, the Mayor, eleven Senior Merchants in the Company's service, four Factors, five Writers, ten military officers and three private merchants. The clerk to the Vestry (Mr. C. H. Casimir) reported that the notice had been carried round to the house of every parishioner within and without the Fort according to order. There were, however, only nine persons, including the two Chaplains, who thought the matter important enough for their attendance. The following extract from the Minute Book shows how the question was settled [1]:—

'The matter of the surplice fees being examined into, it is found that donations have been given voluntarily by parishioners to the Chaplains since the establishment of the settlement; and that the same has become an established custom and so a law in the parish; but it is also found that there has been no particular or stated fees, and that the defect has had inconveniences to the Ministers as well as the parishioners; it is thought proper to apply a remedy for the convenience of all parties.

'It is unanimously agreed that in conformity with the law of our country, the custom of this settlement, and the sanction of the Act of Parliament of 1773 entitled an 'Act for establishing certain regulations for the better management of their affairs of the East India Company as well in India as in Europe,' which has a clause permitting a Chaplain, a Councillor at law, a Physician or Surgeon to take fees in the way of their profession; on which ground the Vestry see proper to make regulations for the fees which the clergymen shall have a right to claim on baptisms, marriages, and funerals.

'The Vestry is of opinion that the rates to be established should not be too high for the poor nor too low to recompense the Minister in a country where the expense of living far exceeds what it is in England. And it appears to them that the allowances should be such as to be able to attract clergymen of the best character and education to leave their country.

'It is also considered that the fees should be adapted to the circumstances of individuals in the Society, and should be proportionate to their condition. For this purpose parishioners are divided into two classes, superior rank and inferior

[1] Vestry Proceedings, 18 Jan. 1785.

rank; and it is left to the discretion of the Ministers to determine the class to which the party belongs. If a person is charged the fee of the higher class, he shall have the option of being excused payment at that rate, and of being charged the fee of the inferior class.

'Agreed that the fees be as follows:—

Baptisms,	Superior rank	10 pagodas.	Inferior rank	3 pagodas
Marriages,	"	20 "	"	5 "
Burials,	"	10 "	"	5 "

'In burials the rule shall be governed by this distinction, those who use the best pall shall be considered in the first class; those who do not use the best pall shall be allotted to second class.

. . . . . .

'It is also agreed that on every grave-stone or monument erected in the burying ground a fee shall be paid by those of the first class, 20 pagodas; and by those of the second class, ten pagodas; and that one quarter of such fees shall be given to the English Charity School Fund under the management of the Ministers and Churchwardens.

. . . .

'The Vestry record their opinion that soldiers, seamen and others in indigent circumstances should be exempted from all fees; in the case of soldiers in the service of the Company it may be recommended to the Government to make an allowance to the clergyman; and in the case of soldiers and seamen in H.M.'s service the officers commanding the King's forces should see some allowance made to the clergyman.'

It was further resolved

'that the above regulations be submitted to the consideration of the Governor, the Rt. Hon. Lord Macartney, to whose approbation as the head of the East India Company's government, and of this community, the Vestry deem it most proper to refer the establishment of these fees; more especially as it happened that on the consecration of the Church in 1680 the deed, which was transmitted by the Bishop of London for that purpose, was addressed to the then Agent or Governor, Streynsham Master Esquire.'

These regulations were accordingly submitted to the Governor and approved under his signature. In drawing them up

reference was made to Burn's Ecclesiastical Law; and the passages bearing upon them were inserted in the Vestry Minute Book for the benefit of those interested.

It must be noticed before leaving the subject that 10 pagodas were equivalent to £4; that the Vestry had retained the ancient custom of owning palls for the use of the parishioners; that the fees for occupying grave space were still payable to the Church Fund; and that the fees for monuments were partly payable to the Church Fund and partly to the Ministers. These regulations remained in force till the great law case of 1805 pronounced against the power of the Vestry either to hold property or to make parish regulations. They were then continued as Government regulations, and the Government took the fees.

It is not surprising to find that within a few years the Chaplains had thought of another means of increasing their incomes, namely by the imposition of a separate fee for registering the baptism, marriage or burial which had been performed and paid for. Millingchamp, Leslie, and Bell brought the matter before the Vestry in 1793,[1] and the proceedings are recorded thus:—

'Many inconveniences having arisen for want of a knowledge of the marriages, baptisms and burials of Europeans which have occurred at the various subordinaries, out-garrisons, and stations under the Presidency of Fort St. George . . . . and as it is usual and reasonable that fees should be allowed for keeping such register, and furnishing extracts, it is agreed

'1. That application be made to the Government by the Ministers and Churchwardens to take measures for the return of all such marriages, baptisms and burials by the Chiefs, Residents, and Commanding officers to the Senior Incumbent of the Parish.

'2. To ask the Government to sanction the following scale of fees;

Marriage,	Superior Class	5 pagodas.	Inferior Class	3 pagodas
Baptism,	,,	3 ,,	,,	1 ,,
Burial,	,,	3 ,,	,,	1 ,,

[1] Vestry Proceedings, 10 Jan. 1793.

There is very little if any doubt that the Chaplains intended that the Chiefs, Residents, and Commanding officers —who were authorised by the Government to perform the acts within their own jurisdiction—should report each such act to the Senior Incumbent, who should register it in books kept for the purpose and receive the registration fee. When the matter came before the Council some months later, they agreed with the proposal, and they added further that those who kept the register books should have the fees for performing the offices as agreed upon in 1784.[1] The order was sent to all out-stations and garrisons[2]; and the effect of it was not only to increase the pay of the Chaplains through registration, but also to increase the number of baptisms and marriages in the various out-stations. The out-garrison register books between 1793 and 1805, kept at St. Mary's Fort St. George, are of great family and genealogical value and interest.

It was most probably owing to the political changes of the time, involving many fresh civil appointments, that the performance, registration and return of marriages, baptisms, and burials in civil stations became by 1800 irregular. The Directors wrote therefore[3]:—

'Having of late experienced much inconvenience by your not having furnished us from time to time with registers of births, marriages and burials, as well those at the subordinate settlements as at your Presidency, we now direct that due care be taken in future to transmit to us annually in duplicate correct registers of all births, marriages, and burials at your Presidency, and also from all your subordinate settlements properly attested.'

On receipt of this despatch the Government wrote to Archdeacon Leslie to inquire the reason of the complaint. Leslie replied[4] that the returns of every event registered in his books had been regularly sent; that since 1793 copies of the military registers had been sent to Fort St. George from the out-garrisons, but not sent home, because there were no orders to do so; he asked that orders might be given to Civil

[1] Vestry Proceedings, 18 Jan. 1785.
[2] Consultations, 22 Nov. 1793.
[3] Despatch, 7 May 1800, Pub.
[4] Consultations, 12 Dec. 1800, and Vestry Proceedings, 31 Dec. 1800.

Residents to send him their returns. The Government issued orders accordingly to the Political and Commercial Residents; and ordered that henceforth copies of all were to be sent home; and they wrote to the Directors accordingly.[1]

In 1802 the Directors complained that amongst the returns for 1801 and previous years there were none from Trichinopoly. The Government therefore wrote to Dr. Ball, then officiating at the Presidency, for an explanation. Dr. Ball, who had been stationed at Trichinopoly from 1798 to 1801, explained that when he was Chaplain at that garrison, no orders regarding returns were issued. He pleaded want of official orders. It is easy to understand what actually happened. The orders were doubtless issued to the chief civil and military officers there as elsewhere. But there was a Missionary with them who had been acting as garrison Chaplain for many years, who performed and registered all the offices of marriage, baptism and burial. They therefore paid no attention to the order, assuming that their Missionary Chaplain would see to it. The mistake of omission was corrected by Ball writing to him, and by Government repeating their orders to their own servants.[2] Only once more did the difficulty of obtaining the up-country returns come before the Council, and that was in 18[illegible]. After that date the appointment of additional Chaplains to various garrisons made the return of sacred offices a comparatively simple matter.

It is worthy of record that at three principal garrisons outside Fort St. George, Trichinopoly, Tanjore and Cuddalore, the S.P.C.K. Missionaries kept private register books of all marriages, baptisms and burials long before the order of 1793 was published. At these places there were resident Missionary-Chaplains. The other garrisons and subordinate stations were only visited occasionally by either a Chaplain or a Missionary. When the Missionary visited Vellore and other places where there were Europeans he recorded in his reports to the Society so many Europeans married or baptised, so many Portuguese, and so many natives; but it is not known now if he kept a register of them at Vepery, his head

[1] Letter, 12 March 1801, 6, Pub.

[2] Consultations, 10 Sept. 1802.

quarters. Probably he did; but if so, the record has long been lost.[1] The old register book commenced by Schwartz in 1751 and continued by Pohle at Trichinopoly until his death in 1818 still exists. It is a monument of unofficial care. The Tanjore Register Books, also commenced by Schwartz, are in existence; they were begun in 1773. Schwartz also commenced a register book at Pallamcottah in 1780 which exists. The Cuddalore books, if they existed before 1781, suffered destruction in that year, and were not recommenced till 1793.

After the defeat of Tippoo Sultan by Lord Cornwallis in 1792 the inland trade was revived, and general confidence was for a time restored. The Vestry was a lender of money on security, and had profited greatly during the preceding 20 years by getting a high interest on their loans. After 1792 they began to experience a difficulty in getting their money out.[2] They therefore asked the Government to take it over in the same way as they had taken over the money of the Capuchins; this could not be done without the permission of the Directors. The Managers of the Female Asylum and the Male Asylum and of the Civil and Military Funds, the Vestries at Trichinopoly and Tanjore had the same kind of difficulty with their funds; they also asked the Government to do for them what they had done for the Roman Catholics.[3] The Directors replied [4] permitting the r[illegible] of the funds mentioned into the Company's treasury '[illegible] which bonds are to be granted subject to such rate of interest as may be from time to time current'; and the Government informed the various trustees and managers of their willingness to grant bonds at the rate of 6 per cent.[5] In 1795 expeditions against the Dutch in Ceylon and Malacca were resolved upon. The Government raised a loan at 8 per cent. The managers and trustees of the various funds mentioned above wrote at once to have their loans at 6 per cent. paid off, or renewed at 8 per cent. Their applications were granted.

[1] The Vepery tradition is that the Rev. W. Taylor took the records from the Church to write his history about 1837 and never returned them.

[2] Vestry Proceedings, 10 Jan. 1793 and 15 Jan. 1794.

[3] Letters, 2 May 1793, 23, 24 and 20 Sept. 1793, 57, Pub.

[4] Despatch, 23 April 1794, 69, Pub.

[5] Letter, 7 Sept. 1794, 68, Pub., and Consultations, 6 Sept. 1794.

It is interesting to notice with regard to these applications that the letter from the Female Asylum Directors was signed by Millingchamp, Leslie, Bell, Charles Baker, Charles White, Benj. Sulivan and J. du P. Porcher; that from the Vestry by the three Chaplains, John Tulloh and William Abbott; that from the Male Asylum by J. Tulloh, Treasurer, 'by order of the Directors.' The trustees of the Trichinopoly and Tanjore Funds commissioned C. W. Gericke to make the necessary application on their behalf. The amounts received were as follows;

Female Asylum . . .	40,000 pagodas
Male Asylum	26,000 ,,
Trichinopoly Vestry Fund . .	3,200 ,,
St. Mary's Church Fund . .	32,300 ,,
S.P.C.K. Missionaries . .	27,600 ,,

Of the Missionaries' money 10,000 pagodas were in the name of Gericke, 13,000 belonged to the George Hutteman estate; 3500 belonged to C. S. John, and 1100 to Christian Pohle.

The S.P.C.K. Missionaries appear to have traded with and used to good purpose the money which the Society left in their hands over and above their salaries. Only two of them were unfortunate in their ventures, Fabricius and Kiernander, and they were greatly blamed for—being unfortunate.

The result of this action on the part of the various trustees was that the Government got the bulk of the trust funds held within their jurisdiction into their possession. The investment was so safe, the payment of interest was so regular, that by degrees the trustees invested all their funds in the Company's bonds.[1]

In 1802 the St. Mary's Church Fund amounted to 62,489 pagodas; of this 57,898 pagodas were invested in Government bonds, and the rest was in cash.[2] The Native Poor Fund had 20,000 pagodas so invested;[2] and the other funds were similarly securely held.

When Bell and Millingchamp left Fort St. George in 1796 the Government of Madras wrote to the Directors to inform

[1] Vestry Proceedings, 31 Dec. 1800. [2] Do. 28 Dec. 1802.

them.[1] They strongly recommended Dr. Bell to their notice on account of his high character and his successful management of the Male Asylum. He had obtained leave on medical certificate, and they hoped for his return. They also reminded the Directors that Millingchamp had served them 14 years, and they left the question of his pay whilst absent to their decision. The Vestry showed their appreciation of the work and character of these two Chaplains by causing a letter to be written to each of them expressive of the high sense the Vestry entertained of their conduct and attention during their periods of service, and regretting that the state of their health obliged them to go.[2]

On the departure of these two Leslie became Senior Presidency Chaplain, Kerr was appointed Junior, and the only other Chaplain on the Coast was George Wells.[1] Leslie resumed charge of the St. Mary's School; and Kerr was put in charge of the Male Asylum. When Leslie resigned charge of the school the year before, the Vestry passed a resolution of appreciation of his work in connection with it, expressed in terms of warm acknowledgement.[3]

Besides the troops of the Madras army on the coast there were garrisons of Madras troops at Malacca and at Colombo. When Malacca fell in August 1795 an English clergyman who had held appointments in Bengal was found there, the Rev. A. T. Clarke. He wrote on the 6th September 1795 explaining his presence and asking to be appointed Chaplain to the garrison and to be enrolled on the Madras establishment. The Government of Madras replied to the officer commanding the troops at Malacca that they had no objection to the temporary appointment of the Rev. Mr. Clarke to be Chaplain to the garrison at Malacca with an allowance of 50 pagodas a month, to commence on the 1st December 1795.[4] Here he remained till the end of 1798.

The Madras troops at Colombo remained without a Chaplain until the end of 1796, when one of the naval Chaplains, Rosenhagen, was appointed to do duty there. The

[1] Letter, 16 Aug. 1796, 23, 24 and 72; and 3 Oct. 1796, 6, Pub.
[2] Vestry Proceedings, 4 Aug. 1796. [3] Do. 15 April 1795.
[4] Mil. Consultations, 2 Feb. 1796.

Government did not apparently inform the Directors of Clarke's appointment to Malacca. But they wrote and informed them of Rosenhagen's appointment to Colombo,[1] mentioning the Court's orders of April 1796[2] in justification of the appointment. Rosenhagen was Chaplain of the Suffolk. The Directors did not approve of the appointment and ordered it to be revoked[3]; but as they did not appoint any other Chaplain to do the work, Rosenhagen remained at his post in Colombo till his death in April 1799.

In the meantime the Directors appointed the Rev. Charles Ball to fill the vacancy at the Presidency caused by the departure of Millingchamp and Bell. He was appointed to be 'the youngest Chaplain at your Presidency,'[4] meaning most probably 'Junior Presidency Chaplain.' But the unofficial language enabled the Government to keep Kerr at the Presidency and to send Ball as military Chaplain to Trichinopoly. When Ball received his orders on arrival, he asked for the letter of the Directors appointing him. He detailed the circumstances under which he was appointed, and claimed to be civil Chaplain at the Presidency in the place of Mr. Kerr. The papers were sent, and he was informed that he could only be considered 'the youngest Chaplain at this Presidency.' The Gazette appointing him to Trichinopoly had described him as 'the youngest Chaplain on this establishment.' Ball therefore asked if he were 'military and the youngest Chaplain on the establishment,' or 'civil and the youngest Chaplain at the Presidency.' The Government replied that the civil establishment was complete according to the limitation of the Court of Directors, and that he was considered to be the youngest military Chaplain; and they requested him to proceed at once to Trichinopoly.[5] Kerr was making himself very useful at the Male Asylum; the Government did not want to lose his services there; his appointment as Junior Presidency Chaplain had not as a matter of fact been sanctioned by the Directors. Their despatch sanctioning it did not reach Madras till September 1798.[6] This disappoint-

[1] Letter, 20 Jan. 1797, 40, 41, Mil. and Mil. Consult. 1797.
[2] Despatch, 22 April 1796, 10, Pub.
[3] Do. May 1798, Pub.
[4] Do. 30 June 1797, Pub.
[5] Mil. Consultations, 1798.
[6] Despatch, May 1798, Pub.

ment [illegible] Ball was probably responsible for his subsequent hostility to Kerr. He went to Trichinopoly and remained there assisting the Garrison Chaplain, Christian Pohle, until he was recalled to Madras in 1801. Pohle was an older man, and had been officiating as Garrison Chaplain since 1779. All the same it is to the credit of Charles Ball that he fell into the position of assistant so readily.

When Dr. Andrew Bell arrived in England he set about the difficult task of finding a schoolmaster to superintend the Male Asylum. His choice fell upon James Cordiner, a graduate of Aberdeen. The Directors were asked to permit him to proceed to Fort St. George. This they did; but when they wrote their despatch notifying his departure, they added, 'but it is our positive order that he is not to be employed as a Chaplain in India.'[1] He arrived at Madras in June 1798, and was hospitably received by the Rev. R. H. Kerr. Soon after his arrival he was made clerk to the Vestry, and the stipend was increased from 10 to 20 pagodas a month in his favour.[2] His salary was further increased by his acceptance of the Chaplaincy of the 80th Regiment, then at Trincomalee. But he only remained at the Asylum for 10 months; his services were required elsewhere; and in spite of the positive order of the Directors he was appointed by the Hon. Frederick North, Governor of Colombo, to be Chaplain of the Colombo garrison on the death of Rosenhagen in April 1799. He was thus placed on the Madras military establishment, and received the pay of a military Chaplain. He was also appointed Chaplain of the 51st Regiment, then in Ceylon.[3] He remained in Ceylon for six years; and when he retired to England in 1804 with a handsome presentation of plate and a still more handsome address,[4] he was Chaplain to the garrison, principal of all the schools in the island, and the only clergyman of the Church of England in any of its settlements.[5]

At the end of 1798 the Rev. A. T. Clarke, Chaplain to the garrison at Malacca, arrived at Fort St. George, and asked the Government for an appointment in the Presidency. He

[1] Despatch, 18 Oct. 1797, Pub.
[2] Vestry Proceedings, 5 July 1798.
[3] Cordiner's *Voyage to India.*
[4] *Madras Courier*, 27 June 1804.
[5] Cordiner's *Description of Ceylon* (Preface).

had left Malacca owing to ill health. The Governor in Council[1] wrote to the Directors explaining his circumstances and strongly recommending that he should be appointed to one of the vacant situations.[2] Before a reply arrived to this letter Clarke asked permission to go to Seringapatam for his health, and to officiate as Chaplain there. This request was granted.[3] Almost a year after his arrival at Seringapatam came a reply from the Directors regarding his appointment to a vacancy in the Presidency. The Directors said that 'in consequence of the peculiar situation of the Rev. Mr. Clarke,' they would appoint him Chaplain of Bencoolen.[4] The offer was made to him; he declined it on the ground that he was not able to stand the climate of Fort Marlborough, as he knew by experience; and he asked to be allowed to remain at Seringapatam where there was plenty of work among the troops and others of the garrison.[5] The Government allowed him to remain; and in their letter home again recommended his appointment to one of the vacancies in the establishment. They further urged that he was well placed at Seringapatam where the health of the garrison was very bad owing to the feverish nature of the place. The Directors wrote their agreement with these suggestions nearly two years later.[6] The following extract from the 'Madras Courier' of the 4th Jan. 1804 shows that Clarke was at Seringapatam then. He remained there at work during that year; and died in 1805, probably at sea.

'News from Seringapatam. Yesterday, the 27th Dec. 1803, being St. John's Day, Lodge No. 3 met at the usual hour in the morning, and at half past ten walked in due and ancient order, preceded by the Band of the 1st Battalion of Artillery and the Lodge colours displayed, to the Public Rooms; where divine service was performed and an appropriate sermon delivered by a Brother, the Rev. Mr. Clarke,' etc.

[1] Before 1798 the Directors always addressed their despatches to 'Our President in Council'; after 1798 to 'Our Governor in Council.'

[2] Letter, 2 Jan. 1799, 130–133, Mil.

[3] Mil. Consultations, 20 Dec. 1799.

[4] Despatch, 22 May 1800, 49, Mil.

[5] Letter, 18 March 1801, 196, Pub. and 15 Oct. 1801, 209, Mil., and Military Consultations, 1801.

[6] Despatch, 17 Aug. 1803, 87, Mil.

The Directors appointed two Chaplains in 1799, James Estcourt Atwood and Edward Vaughan.[1] The former arrived at Madras at the end of the year, and was ordered to Vellore; the latter arrived in March 1800.[2] Vaughan applied to be allowed to officiate at Seringapatam; but this could not be arranged without displacing Clarke, for which there seemed to be no necessity; he was therefore ordered to Masulipatam, where there had been no Chaplain since Kerr left in 1796.

At the end of the century the Company had the following Chaplains on their Madras Establishment:—

R. Leslie, R. Kerr } at Fort St. George.
J. Cordiner at Colombo.
A. T. Clarke at Seringapatam.
J. E. Atwood at Vellore.
E. Vaughan at Masulipatam.
C. Ball at Trichinopoly.

They were also paying the following Missionaries to minister to the Europeans where they were:—

J. C. Kohlhoff at Tanjore.[3]
C. Pohle at Trichinoply.
C. H. Horst at Cuddalore.
C. W. Gericke at Madras.

The Directors appointed the Rev. Edward Stanley to be Junior Chaplain in 1801[4]; but he does not appear to have reached Madras. No fresh appointment was made until 1806. Gericke died in 1803. Leslie died in 1804. Cordiner returned home in the same year. So that at the end of the period under review, that is in 1805, there were four Chaplains and three Missionaries receiving pay from the Government for their services.

R. H. Kerr, E. Vaughan } Fort St. George.
C. Ball, Trichinopoly.
J. E. Atwood, St. Thomas' Mount.
J. C. Kohlhoff, Tanjore.
I. G. Holtzberg, Cuddalore.
C. Pohle, Trichinopoly.

The Rev. R. H. Kerr was appointed Chaplain to the 4th Regiment of Europeans at Ellore in 1793. Before long he appealed to the officers and men of the Northern Division to gi

[1] Despatch, 29 May 1799, Mil.
[2] Mil. Consultations, 1799 and 1800.
[3] Schwartz died in 1798.
[4] Despatch, 26 Aug. 1801, 152, Mil.

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